

# The Canadian Historical Review

NEW SERIES

OF

THE REVIEW OF HISTORICAL PUBLICATIONS  
RELATING TO CANADA

(FOUNDED 1896)

BOARD OF EDITORS

A. H. U. COLQUHOUN

R. M. MACIVER

W. L. GRANT

W. S. WALLACE

H. H. LANGTON

GEORGE M. WRONG

MANAGING EDITOR

W. S. WALLACE

VOLUME IV

1923

Published Quarterly  
At the University of Toronto Press

100

Gen.  
Wahr

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

### No. 1. MARCH, 1923

NOTES AND COMMENTS	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
ARTICLES							
"Want of Vision"—or What?							
By the Right Hon. Sir Robert Borden	-	-	-	-	-	-	5
<i>Economic Factors in Canadian History</i>							
By W. A. Mackintosh	-	-	-	-	-	-	12
<i>Early Days of the Maritime Fur-Trade on the Northwest Coast</i>							
By His Honour Judge Howay	-	-	-	-	-	-	26
NOTES AND DOCUMENTS							
<i>A New Account of the Death of Wolfe</i>							
Edited by A. G. Doughty	-	-	-	-	-	-	45
REVIEWS OF BOOKS	-	-	-	-	-	-	56
RECENT PUBLICATIONS	-	-	-	-	-	-	84

---

### No. 2. JUNE, 1923

NOTES AND COMMENTS	-	-	-	-	-	-	95
ARTICLES							
<i>The Canadian Militia before the Great War</i>							
By * * *	-	-	-	-	-	-	98
<i>Some Letters of David Thompson</i>							
By Lawrence J. Burpee	-	-	-	-	-	-	105
<i>The Early Choice of the Forty-Ninth Parallel as a Boundary Line</i>							
By Charles O. Paullin	-	-	-	-	-	-	127
<i>Louis Riel and the Fenian Raid of 1871</i>							
By A. H. de Trémaudan	-	-	-	-	-	-	132
<i>A Treaty and a Signature</i>							
By Sir John Willison	-	-	-	-	-	-	145
NOTES AND DOCUMENTS							
"Red George"—One of the Macdonells							
By Lieut.-Col. W. S. Buell, C.B.E.	-	-	-	-	-	-	150
CORRESPONDENCE	-	-	-	-	-	-	160
REVIEWS OF BOOKS (see next page)	-	-	-	-	-	-	162
RECENT PUBLICATIONS	-	-	-	-	-	-	190

### No. 3. SEPTEMBER, 1923

NOTES AND COMMENTS	-	-	-	-	-	-	197
ARTICLES							
> <i>The Canadian Historical Association</i>							
By James F. Kenney	-	-	-	-	-	-	200
> <i>The New Dominion</i>							
By Alexander Brady	-	-	-	-	-	-	204
<i>An Historical Survey of Indian Migration within the Empire</i>							
By Miss E. E. Smillie	-	-	-	-	-	-	217
NOTES AND DOCUMENTS							
<i>The First Assembly in Lower Canada</i>							
By F. H. Soward	-	-	-	-	-	-	258
REVIEWS OF BOOKS	-	-	-	-	-	-	264
RECENT PUBLICATIONS	-	-	-	-	-	-	277

### No. 4. DECEMBER, 1923

NOTES AND COMMENTS	-	-	-	-	-	-	285
ARTICLES							
<i>Francis Parkman</i>							
By George M. Wrong	-	-	-	-	-	-	289
> <i>Gladstone's Views on British Colonial Policy</i>							
By Paul Knaplund	-	-	-	-	-	-	304
<i>Mearns and the Miramichi</i>							
By C. R. Fay	-	-	-	-	-	-	316
NOTES AND DOCUMENTS							
<i>Sir Guy Carleton and his First Council</i>							
By A. L. Burt	-	-	-	-	-	-	321
REVIEWS OF BOOKS	-	-	-	-	-	-	333
RECENT PUBLICATIONS	-	-	-	-	-	-	367
INDEX	-	-	-	-	-	-	379







# The Canadian Historical Review

NEW SERIES  
OF

THE REVIEW OF HISTORICAL PUBLICATIONS  
RELATING TO CANADA

(FOUNDED 1896)

VOL. IV.

TORONTO, MARCH, 1923

No. 1

## CONTENTS

NOTES AND COMMENTS - - - - - 1

### ARTICLES

*"Want of Vision"—or What?*

By the Right Hon. Sir Robert Borden - - - 5

*Economic Factors in Canadian History*

By W. A. Mackintosh - - - - - 12

*Early Days of the Maritime Fur-Trade on the Northwest Coast*

By His Honour Judge Howay - - - - - 26

### NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

*A New Account of the Death of Wolfe*

Edited by A. G. Doughty - - - - - 45

REVIEWS OF BOOKS (see next page) - - - - - 56

RECENT PUBLICATIONS - - - - - 84

Published Quarterly  
At the University of Toronto Press

Price, 50c. the copy, or \$2 the year.

All rights reserved

## REVIEWS OF BOOKS

DOUGHTY, <i>Report of the Public Archives for Year 1921</i> .....	56
HASENCLEVER, <i>Zum ersten Kolonisationsversuch Frankreichs in Kanada</i> : by L. Hamilton.....	58
ROY, <i>Les petites choses de notre histoire</i> : by W. S. Wallace.....	59
VAN TYNE, <i>The Causes of the War of Independence</i> : by Professor George M. Wrong.....	60
PATERSON, <i>Land Settlement in Upper Canada, 1783-1840</i> : by Harold G. Innis...	63
<i>Collections of the Nova Scotia Historical Society</i> , vol. xx: by Professor A. Mac-Mechan.....	64
CAREY, <i>History of Oregon</i> : by His Honour Judge Howay.....	65
BLAKE, <i>In a Fishing Country</i> .....	67
MACCOUN, <i>Autobiography</i> : by Professor A. P. Coleman.....	69
JENNESS, <i>The Life of the Copper Eskimos</i> : by Clark Wissler.....	70
STEFANSSON, <i>The Northward Course of Empire</i> : by Lawrence J. Burpee.....	74
HAYWARD, <i>Romantic Canada</i> .....	76
EGERTON, <i>British Colonial Policy in the Twentieth Century</i> : by W. L. Grant.....	76
POTTER, <i>Canada as a Political Entity</i> : by J. B. Brebner.....	80
DAWSON, <i>The Principle of Official Independence</i> : by W. S. Wallace.....	81

---

### BOARD OF EDITORS

A. H. U. COLQUHOUN	R. M. MACIVER
W. L. GRANT	W. S. WALLACE
H. H. LANGTON	GEORGE M. WRONG
<i>Managing Editor</i> —W. S. WALLACE	

Correspondence with regard to contributions to the REVIEW should be sent to the Managing Editor, at the University of Toronto Library, Toronto, Ontario. Books for review should be sent to the same address. Subscriptions should be sent to the Business Manager, W. J. Dunlop, at the Extension Office, University of Toronto.





# The Canadian Historical Review

VOL. IV.

TORONTO, MARCH, 1923

No. 1

## NOTES AND COMMENTS

THE appearance of the first volume of Champlain's work under the auspices of the Champlain Society directs attention to the achievements and prospects of this Society. It was founded in 1905 by a group of persons devoted to the study and encouragement of Canadian history. Conscious that much material for the student and average man of affairs was lost either through being buried in archives or having gone out of print, they decided that a publishing society which would bring such material within reach was desirable. Of course, from the outset no financial profit was thought of. The original promoters were Sir Edmund Walker, the late Dr. James Bain, Dr. Doughty, Professor Colby, and Professor Wrong. There was a limited membership and, therefore, a limited number of copies of each book issued. The Society has done wonderfully well. Some fifteen volumes have been issued. These include early history and travels, such as those of Le Clercq, Lescarbot, and Denys, the narratives of Hearne and Thompson, Knox's *Journal of the Campaigns in North America*, and other works which are almost inaccessible to the average reader and which form the basis of much of our knowledge of early Canada. The Society, therefore, has justified itself and justified, also, the original founders, who believed that it was an error in policy to have this sort of material published in the United States, while none of it was being published in Canada. The war, which raised the cost of printing to forbidding figures,

did something to arrest the work of publication. Since the outbreak of the war, through death and other causes, there are some gaps in the membership. Hitherto, the waiting list of those who desired to be members of this Society has been sufficient to fill all vacancies. It appears, however, that there are now a few vacancies, and it is believed that when this fact becomes known there will be no difficulty in filling up the vacant places. Although the Society has undertaken to issue Champlain's *Voyages*, other work is also to go on, so that the organization gives every evidence of vitality. The president is Sir Edmund Walker, and the present secretaries are Messrs Eric Armour and W. S. Wallace, to whom applications for membership may be sent, in care of the University of Toronto Library.

---

We have pleasure in calling the attention of readers of this REVIEW to a comparatively new journal which, we venture to think, is of primary importance for all students of current Canadian and imperial history. This journal, which has just completed its third year of existence, is entitled the *Journal of the Parliaments of the Empire*, and is issued under the authority of the United Kingdom Branch of the Empire Parliamentary Association. It is a digest of the legislative proposals, enactments and discussions contained in the Bills, Acts, and Hansards of the sister nations of the British Commonwealth. Nowhere else can one follow, within such convenient compass, the proceedings and ideas of the leaders of opinion in each parliament of the Empire. One can readily compare the views with regard to any one of a wide range of subjects expressed in one parliament with those expressed in another; and in this way one can gain a conspectus of the public opinion of the Empire which otherwise it would be very difficult to obtain. The journal is one which should be in every reference library in Canada, and available to every student of the current affairs of the Empire.

---

In the *Hibbert Journal* for January, 1923, there is a paper by Mr. Carleton W. Stanley, entitled "Spiritual Conditions in Canada", which is bound to attract a great deal of attention. Seldom has a blacker picture been painted of the standards of Canadian life. "Our trend towards materialism," says Mr. Stanley, "is plainly marked." It is perhaps most marked, in his opinion, in the churches and universities. "At times one is tempted to exclaim that real estate, and things so little spiritual



as prohibitory Acts of legislation, are the sole concern of our churches. . . . Our university chancellors and presidents go up and down the country haranguing Canadian Clubs, conferences of dentists, and so forth, and urging that the universities be better equipped for turning out engineers, and 'practical men,' who can 'exploit our unparalleled natural resources'—and such other slogans of materialism as these dignitaries use in common with our newspaper writers. . . . The student sees men who have written books that are known in Europe too poor to clothe their children; whereas a mountebank professor, scribbling rubbish and flattering the vulgar in our worst yellow newspapers and frothy magazines, rapidly makes a fortune. . . . Our very ministers are selling automobiles in their 'spare time'; they are engaged in poultry-farming, in real estate, in everything but their Master's business. . . . As to our education generally, we are slipping fast down grade. Absorbed in railroads, wheat, immigrants, we have neglected and forgotten our schools. . . . It can easily be demonstrated by comparison of texts read and work prescribed that our teachers' examinations and matriculation standards are not much more than half as high as they were twenty years ago. . . . A Canadian university degree has come to be the shadow of a name. . . . University education in Canada has swiftly and silently come to be the prerogative of the well-to-do. . . . We have no Canadian art, no Canadian literature." These are some of the points in Mr. Stanley's indictment against current tendencies in Canadian life. The sentences quoted do not perhaps give a wholly fair idea of Mr. Stanley's thesis, for he is not entirely without hope, and he sees signs of regeneration here and there. In general, however, his paper presents a very dismal estimate. But is not the estimate a caricature, rather than a portrait.

---

In the last number of this REVIEW, in an article entitled "*Want of Vision*", Sir Charles Lucas, one of the greatest living authorities on the history of the British Empire, and for many years the chief official in the Colonial Office, broke a lance with Sir Robert Borden over some views which the latter had expressed in his *Canadian Constitutional Studies*. In the present number Sir Robert Borden now re-enters the lists and defends himself against his challenger. The other main articles in the present issue are a paper by Professor W. A. Mackintosh of the Department of Social and Economic Science in Queen's University, on *Some Economic Factors in Canadian History*, and a paper

by His Honour Judge Howay of British Columbia on the early maritime history of the British Columbia coast. In the department of Notes and Documents, Dr. Arthur G. Doughty, the Dominion Archivist, presents a most interesting letter written by Samuel Holland to John Graves Simcoe in 1792, describing the battle of the Plains of Abraham and the death of Wolfe.

## "WANT OF VISION"—OR WHAT?

"This fierce spirit of liberty is stronger in the British colonies, probably, than in any other people of the earth. . . . They are not only devoted to liberty, but to liberty according to English ideas and on English principles."

"Slavery they can have anywhere . . . freedom they can have from none but you. . . . Deny them this participation of freedom, and you break that sole bond which originally made, and must still preserve the unity of the empire."

"My idea, therefore, without considering whether we yield as matter of right or grant as matter of favor, is, to admit the people of our colonies into an interest in the Constitution."

"For all service . . . my trust is in her [America's] interest in the British Constitution. My hold of the colonies is the close affection which grows from common names, from kindred blood, from similar privileges, and equal protection. These are ties which, though light as air, are as strong as links of iron. Let the colonies always keep the idea of their civil rights associated with your government,—they will cling and grapple to you, and no force under heaven will be of power to tear them from their allegiance."—Burke, *Speech on Conciliation with America*.

Truth is many-sided, and a complete survey is seldom, if ever, permitted to any fallible mortal. But as every aspect should be pictured in order to gain a true conception of historical events, all Canadians ought to be grateful to Sir Charles Lucas for his interesting article in the December number of this REVIEW. Especially are my own thanks due for very appreciative reference to my public service.

An apparent misunderstanding ought to be removed, however. Throughout his article I seem to be charged with persistently decrying all British statesmen as "purblind," "abnormally narrow and dull," "stupid," "indifferent," and "visionless," while I am supposed to portray Canadians as altogether "clear-sighted," "freedom-loving" and "wide-visioned." If a man of so distinguished ability as Sir Charles Lucas has derived this impression from my lectures,<sup>1</sup> it is evident that I have expressed myself unhappily. But, in truth, I paid high tribute to Lord Durham, Lord Sydenham, Lord Grey, and Lord Elgin; and I did not overlook commendation of Sir Charles Bagot. On the other

<sup>1</sup> *Canadian Constitutional Studies*, Toronto, 1920.

hand, I did not omit to observe that the narrowness of view which I attributed to Lord John Russell and Lord Stanley was shared by many Canadians. To Englishmen I ascribed sincerity; to certain Canadians, but not to Englishmen, I ascribed the possible motive of self-interest. The following passage, which may have been overlooked, will illustrate:

Both in 1837 and in 1844 the views expressed by Lord John Russell and by Lord Stanley did not pass unchallenged in the British Parliament. On the other hand, it must not be imagined that these views were confined to that side of the Atlantic. Similar opinions were expressed with vigor, and even vehemence, by a group in Canada, some of whom, under successive Governors, had enjoyed not only political dominance but long continued tenure of the chief administrative offices. In the report of a committee of the Legislative Council of Upper Canada, which was unanimously adopted by that body, Lord Durham's report had been criticized with marked ability; responsibility of the Executive to the representatives of the people was entirely inappropriate and inapplicable to colonial conditions; it would put an end to colonial dependence and virtually make the Colony a sovereign power; the Colony ought not to be subjected to the dissensions of party but should be governed by the Imperial Cabinet through persons of ability and prominence selected by the Governor and acting under his direction without responsibility to the Legislature. To the same effect was a protest from Nova Scotia. Thus the voices of reaction in Great Britain and of officialdom in Canada united in harmonious chorus. It is impossible to doubt the perfect sincerity of the Russell-Stanley school and of some of their Canadian supporters; but the views of prominent placemen in Canada and Nova Scotia were probably influenced (perhaps unconsciously) by considerations of self-interest.

I am glad to be reminded of Lord Carnarvon's eloquent words, which had escaped attention in the preparation of my lectures. Should another edition be called for, the relevant passage from his speech will not be overlooked.

In the abolition of negro slavery, in the supreme fight for liberty against the military despotism of Napoleon, in warm sympathy and earnest effort for oppressed nationalities in Europe, and in other high endeavour, British statesmanship has undoubtedly led the world. But our just pride in all this may not wholly remove the consciousness of its imperfections. In the middle of the nineteenth century it was occasionally more sensitive to conditions abroad than to those nearer home. Its understanding

of Ireland was imperfect; its instinct for freedom long failed to discover the inherent right of the North American colonists to free control and administration of their domestic affairs. British statesmen of the period undoubtedly moved in a wider circle and had infinitely higher opportunities than contemporary Canadians. I cannot recall one who had a finer conception than Joseph Howe of the Empire's possible future, and of the ties that would endow it with strength and unity.

It seems impossible to resolve the difficulties and differences that arose between 1830 and 1850 by the simple formula that Sir Charles Lucas suggests. In his opinion the family analogy gives a perfect explanation: "the young members wished to go more quickly and the parents more slowly;" therefore, the Canadian point of view and the Mother Country point of view, so far as in the past they have not coincided, are both to be regarded, roughly speaking, as natural and right. In my conception, a definite and vital issue of principle was raised; and I am confident that persistence in the original British policy would have had results as disastrous as in the preceding century. Parliamentary resolutions and official despatches alike made it clear that there was no question of going slowly; there was flat refusal and unequivocal repudiation of colonial demands, upon the clear principle, firmly announced and reiterated, that control of the Executive by the elective Assembly was absolutely incompatible with the colonial status. Some illustrations of this are given in my lectures, and many more are available. I abstain from lengthy quotations, but an extract from one of Lord Glenelg's despatches is an apt example:

The language of the address would seem to indicate an opinion, which is not yet distinctly propounded, that the Assembly of Nova Scotia ought to exercise over the public officers of that government a control corresponding with that which is exercised over the ministers of the Crown by the House of Commons. To any such demand Her Majesty's government must oppose a respectful but, at the same time, a firm declaration, that it is inconsistent with a due adherence to the essential distinctions between a metropolitan and a colonial government, and is, therefore, inadmissible.

When this despatch was sent nearly a thousand public officials were engaged in the administration of internal affairs in Nova Scotia. Over these officers the Commons of Nova Scotia had not the slightest control. It was utterly impossible for the people either to call to account or to get rid of a dishonest or inefficient

officer, if the irresponsible Executive that had appointed him chose to protect him. Such is the assertion of Howe, whose fierce denunciation of this condition was no stronger than his inflexible attachment to British connection.

Thus the colonists were in an unfortunate dilemma, if the official view was to prevail. So long as they remained within the British Empire their representatives in the Assembly could possess no effectual control over the Executive, for any such control was alleged to be incompatible with their colonial status. But, while they did insistently demand control of the Executive, they desired most earnestly to adhere to the Empire.

In 1840 the British provinces in North America had a population of not less than 1,600,000, of whom about 1,000,000 were of British descent. A large proportion of the English speaking population were descendants of men who had abandoned their possessions and gone into voluntary exile for loyalty to the Empire. They inherited from their ancestors' traditions of freedom and self-government; there ought to have been no reasonable doubt that they could manage their domestic affairs. Of their devotion to the Empire there could be no question. They had fought stubbornly and gallantly for the British Crown in the war of 1812; and in 1837, although denied what the majority of them conceived to be their inherent rights, they had put down with a strong hand the extremists who sought to assert those rights by dissevering Canada from the British Empire. In the same way the French population, although they lacked the ties of kinship, had loyally and bravely supported British connection less than thirty years before. As Howe pertinently inquired, "Why should this population be denied rights that were freely granted to large communities within the British Islands?"

Burke's genius and eloquence, Durham's plain speech and broad view, and Howe's impressive appeals might reasonably have exercised a more considerable influence upon British leaders of freedom and progress in the mid-Victorian era. Why did they fail to realize that the British North American colonists were not subjects but fellow-subjects? In the pages of Burke and in the letters of Howe that truth had many times been affirmed and emphasized. Why should an Englishman who emigrated to Canada be something less than a free man because he did not reside in the British Islands? Was his loyalty less to be trusted because he made his abode beyond the ocean? Was he therefore less competent to administer the domestic affairs of his community?

In considering the official attitude, one observes a curious and persistent adherence to doctrinaire theory without reasonable regard to actual conditions or to the lessons of experience. Except for this adherence, it would have been obvious that controversial questions respecting domestic administration must be settled in the domestic forum unless the Colonial Office was prepared to assume responsibility for all maladministration and dissatisfaction; it would have been equally clear that the real danger to imperial unity lay in such an assumption. And there was complete failure to realize that the American Revolution was due, not to the exercise of colonial self-government, but to a mischievous and perverse assertion of extraneous authority. There was hardly a principle in Lord Durham's report that the genius of Burke had not anticipated and illustrated nearly three-quarters of a century before.

With adherence to an impossible theory went an unfortunate ignorance of Canadian conditions. This was shared not only by the majority of statesmen and officials at home, but in some instances by governors of inadequate or unsuitable training and experience, almost invariably surrounded by advisers who did not command the confidence of the people. As Lord Sydenham wrote to Lord John Russell (December 12, 1839), "The Executive Council has generally been composed of the persons most obnoxious to the majority of the Assembly." And during the period a rather supercilious attitude towards colonists was not infrequently observable, and was perhaps inevitable under the circumstances. Burke had not failed to notice it in his day: "When any community is subordinately connected with another the great danger of the connection is the extreme pride and self-complacency of the superior which in all matters of controversy will probably decide in its own favour."

Then there was the extreme reluctance of the British ministry, and especially of the Colonial Office, to relinquish power. This is characteristic of human nature, and probably always will be. Howe in 1839 alluded to it as an important factor:

To deprive them of this much talked of responsibility, which means nothing, would be to deprive them of the power to which they cling; of the right of meddling interference with every petty question and every petty appointment in thirty-six different colonies. . . . But then the office of Colonial Secretary would be shorn of much power, which, however unwisely exercised, it is always delightful to possess. . . . The mother country would, it is true, hear less of



colonial grievances, Parliament would save much time now devoted to colonial questions; and the people of England would now and then save a few million sterling, which are required to keep up the existing system by force of arms. But these are small matters compared with the dignity of a Secretary of State.

Extreme adherence to theory made possible also the official conviction that if the right of self-government should be successfully asserted the colonies had better go. Too much importance should not be attached to this. In 1775 the same feeling had been observed by Burke, who thought it had little support at that time:

Another [way] has, indeed, been started,—that of giving up the colonies; but it met so slight a reception that I do not think myself obliged to dwell a great while upon it. It is nothing but a little sally of anger, like the frowardness of peevish children, who when they cannot get all they would have, are resolved to take nothing.

These are, perhaps, some of the reasons why certain British statesmen persisted for many years in what I regard as a narrow view—a view which, however, was shared by not a few leading Canadians. We may usefully remind ourselves, on the other hand, that in Great Britain itself agitation for reasonable representation of the people began at least twenty years before the Reform Bill was accepted by the House of Lords in 1832. It is interesting to note that Lord John Russell did not fully support in 1820 the reform of which eventually he became the most distinguished champion. So also his early opposition to colonial self-government was finally displaced by whole-hearted acceptance. Perhaps he realized that in advocating reform of the franchise he had been met by arguments not unlike those with which he opposed the reform of colonial policy in 1837 and 1839. Although the Tory thesis was unconvincing, it was at least clear; the ruling classes could not be sufficiently represented in parliament, if pocket boroughs were not to be purchased; rotten boroughs were the real safeguards of order; the masses were unfit to govern themselves; reform would destroy the last bulwark that protected the constitution from the destructive forces of democracy. The arguments for central colonial administration and for rotten boroughs went well together. To Englishmen as well as to colonials there was a long denial of democratic self-government. The spirit that would withhold the franchise from hundreds of thousands of Englishmen, and which maintained pocket boroughs to the verge of civil war, did not wholly pass away on the morrow of the Reform Bill.



That eventual separation "was the creed of all but one or two of the most capable and daring statesmen of the mid-Victorian era," is the conclusion of an historian (Professor J. L. Morison) born and educated in Great Britain.<sup>1</sup> He excepts Durham, Buller, Elgin, and Grey from this category; the others believed that separation must come because of autonomy and self-government. It is significant that of the four all but Grey had been in intimate personal touch with Canadian conditions and aspirations. I would say that the Canadians who looked to independence as the final goal held that view not because of self-government, but in spite of it. Within my recollection there have been only three men prominent in Canadian public life who entertained this opinion, and two of them renounced it subsequently.

No one would suggest that British statesmen ought to have concentrated on Canada; it is conceivable that they might have concentrated on the Empire. If they had been less troubled about the balance of power and more concerned about the balance of Empire, perhaps their wisdom would have been more apparent. Seeing that its limits now extend over one quarter of the earth's land surface, and contain more than one-fifth of the world's population, it would be well worth our while to concentrate somewhat more fully on the British Commonwealth. And Canadians of to-day, if they would avoid narrowness of view, must continually remember that assumption of national status within the Commonwealth carries with it national responsibility for the Commonwealth's security.

After centralization ceased and indifference began, nearly half a century was needed to learn the new lesson that in liberty and autonomy, in equal nationhood and generous co-operation, the majesty and might of the Commonwealth would be made manifest; that its true unity is of the spirit, and has a significance more profound and enduring than any statute or formal constitution could afford. And we are profoundly thankful that when the lesson was learned, it was well learned. Let us trust that it may continually inspire those who guide our destinies whether in Britain or in the Dominions.

R. L. BORDEN

<sup>1</sup> J. L. Morison, *British Supremacy and Canadian Self-government* (Toronto, 1919).

## ECONOMIC FACTORS IN CANADIAN HISTORY<sup>1</sup>

THERE will be few dissenters from the position that there is need that more attention should be devoted to the geographic and economic factors in Canadian history, and that greater place should be given to the continental aspects of Canadian history. Up to the present the constitutional bias has been strong, and for the obvious reason that the most recent and in many ways the most significant chapter of British constitutional history has been written in Canada. The familiar school-book periodization of the history of British North America in terms of succeeding instruments of government is sufficient illustration of this bias of the British constitutionalist. The artless query of a high school pupil, "Was everybody a member of parliament then?" indicates the false picture which has been too frequently drawn. It is true that of late years more attention has been given to the economic and geographic factors, but in many cases the chapters on constitutional development have not been in the least influenced by the addenda on "social and economic progress", or by the introduction on "physical characteristics". Constitutional crises lose none of their great importance when viewed as the periodic results of changing conditions, and of the needs and political prepossessions of various elements of the population. History is emphatically not "past politics"; it is the life of yesterday in the present.

<sup>1</sup>The present article contains the substance of two lectures in Canadian economic history given at the School of Historical Research at Ottawa during the summer of 1922. The thesis is presented as one which the writer thinks susceptible of proof, but which cannot be taken as proved until further research has established it on a sound basis. Much elaboration and obvious illustration have been omitted in order that the argument might be presented within reasonable compass. As originally given, the lectures purported to show the relation of economic and geographic factors to general history, and to suggest the great need for detailed research in many phases of Canadian economic history.

The point of view of the article has been suggested by the writings of Professor F. J. Turner and the late Professor G. S. Callender.

W. A. M.

The simplest features of American geography are of primary importance in understanding the developing life of the people of this continent. The initial fact to be noted is that for several reasons, structural and climatic, North America faces Europe. That is to say, by far the greater part of this continent is most easily accessible from the Atlantic coast. This has facilitated, though not accounted for, the success of European rather than Asiatic colonization. The evolution of energetic, industrious, forthfaring peoples under the peculiarly favourable climatic conditions of north-western Europe is the most important element in that success. If then we start with the fact of the European colonization of the Atlantic coast, the structure of American barriers, plains, and waterways takes on a special significance. That structure shaped the course of westward progress; it facilitated or hindered the connection of the frontier with the older settlements and with Europe; it selected to some extent its own settlers; and together with other factors it determined the trend of industrial production.

Structurally, North America, in broad terms, is made up of narrow coastal plains on the Atlantic and the Pacific, the old glaciated Laurentian plateau around Hudson Bay, and a great Central Plain from the Appalachians to the Rockies, with no significant uplift barrier from the Gulf of Mexico to the mouth of the Mackenzie. The presence of the Appalachian barrier to westward movements of population and commerce has given premier importance to the existing gaps in that barrier, of which two, the Mohawk and the St. Lawrence valleys, outrival all others. The partial gaps of Pennsylvania, the Cumberland, and the southwesterly valley of the Shenandoah have all played important parts in American history; but New York to-day is witness to the significance of the Mohawk valley, as is Chicago to that of the St. Lawrence. When the Dutch and French controlled both gateways to the interior, English colonies built solid communities in the coastal and piedmont regions. Meanwhile the French followed the westward path of the St. Lawrence to discover the basic fact of modern Chicago, viz., that the low watershed causes the St. Lawrence there to pivot on the Mississippi, and on that fact France built a grandiose policy not of settlement but of empire: a policy which failed because of the weakness of the initial settlements.

When the forerunners of British settlement began to enter the central valley and speculative ventures such as that of the Ohio

Company about 1745 were set on foot, France and Britain inevitably clashed. They clashed on the upper tributaries of the Ohio where France was busily constructing a line of forts to block British progress into the interior. In later years the war took a European name, the Seven Years' War. Hostilities, however, began earlier in America; they had a distinct American objective, and that objective was not Canada—which was scarcely preferable to Guadeloupe—but the Mississippi valley.

From about 1763 on, the rapidly increasing population of the old colonies overflowed into the Mississippi valley. New England, spreading north and west, entered the valley of the St. Lawrence in the Green Mountain state; and because of its geographical relation to Canada, Vermont did not enter the Union until 1791, ignored the Non-intercourse Act, and was an unwilling and half-hearted partner in the War of 1812. New York and Pennsylvania were already expanding along the Mohawk and the upper Ohio valleys and the men of Virginia occupied the valleys of Tennessee and Kentucky. New problems brought new movements, and the "men of the Western waters" became a significant element in American legislatures.

Later, and with different setting, the same movement into the interior took place in Canada. The American Revolution, the causes of which were not unconnected with the occupation of the west, turned part of the westward movement to the Loyalist settlements of the St. Lawrence valley. At the same time, and later, British immigration augmented the increasing population of the western frontier of Canada. That old West of Canada differed from the settlements of Lower Canada not only in race and religion but in the pioneer problems which it had to face.

In those brilliant introductions to his *Readings in the Economic History of the United States*, the late Professor Callender set forth the basis of colonial economy. "Progress does not take place unless the colony possesses markets, where it can dispose of its staple products. The history of modern colonization does not show a single case where a settled country has enjoyed any considerable economic prosperity, or made notable social progress without a flourishing commerce with other communities." The prime requisite of colonial prosperity is the colonial staple. Other factors connected with the staple industry may turn it to advantage or disadvantage, but the staple in itself is the basis of prosperity. The colonies of North America were fortunate in being capable of producing staples which for the most part

found ready markets in Europe. Virginia and the other southern colonies found in tobacco, indigo, naval stores, and other products excellent colonial staples, on which the prosperity of the South and southern culture were based. In the north, French furs found ready sale, but the conditions of the industry brought few advantages to the settlement. New England and the Middle Colonies were less favourably endowed. Their products were not dissimilar to those of Europe, and the markets were small and uncertain. Hence the importance to them of the development of the West Indian trade, of which the trade in "rum and niggers" was an important part but by no means the whole, and which brought prosperity to the Boston of commerce and shipping before manufacturing New England had arisen. Nothing is more typical of colonial development than the restless, unceasing search for staples which would permit the pioneer community to come into close contact with the commercial world and leave behind the disabilities of a pioneer existence. Contemporary records abound with the tales of the projects of the faddist and propagandist of new staples, and much money and energy was spent on experiments.

In the tidewater settlements of the British colonies the problem, though not without difficulty, was fairly solved because transport was cheap and Europe and the West Indies comparatively near. In Lower Canada, part of the population was lured by the prizes of the fur trade to the unsettled, vagabond life of the woods, which combined with missionary zeal to spread French names from Acadia to New Orleans and the Mackenzie. The other part, vainly endeavouring to produce an agricultural staple, took on more and more the permanent characteristics of a pioneer community which has failed to rise beyond the stage of primitive diversified agriculture, a self-sufficient, conservative peasantry.

As successive waves of population moved into the Upper St. Lawrence and Mississippi valleys the problem intensified.<sup>1</sup> The Appalachian barrier intervened between the frontier and tidewater, and transportation became a dominant factor in American trade. Not only, however, did the eastern barrier of Appalachia confront the pioneer of the central valley with a new problem, but the possible products of the western country were limited.

<sup>1</sup>Readers familiar with F. J. Turner's *Rise of the New West* will recognize the writer's indebtedness to it.

In spite of innumerable experiments they did not extend beyond grain and timber products, both durable enough but bulky, ill-adapted to the transportation of that day, and with little possibility of becoming profitable staples in any way comparable to southern tobacco or cotton until phenomenal changes had been made in means of transportation. Much might be written of the attempts to establish other staples such as hemp in Lower Canada, or to concentrate the bulk of native products to transportable proportions. The potash trade, partially successful, but handicapped by the smallness of the market, the domestic whiskey manufacturing of Kentucky, still surviving in the hill districts, and the industry which gave to Cincinnati its early nick-name of Porkopolis, were all attempts to reduce the bulky products of the Central Valley to transportable size and to establish the greatly-to-be-desired staple.

These obvious facts of the work-a-day colonial world were the conditions upon which colonial policy operated. We have already noted the geographical unity of the two great valleys of the continent and the influence which that unity has had on the history of Canada and of the United States. Up to 1763 the St. Lawrence and Mississippi were linked politically. Marquette and La Salle discovered the easy portages between the river basins and the great river beyond. The Seven Years' War was a war for the central valley which the French had explored, but which the British colonists were ready to occupy. After the conquest, when the Guadeloupe-Canada controversy had been finally decided, the valley was not broken but united with the coast settlements. From 1763 to the Revolutionary War, North America was a free trade area, and the exploitation of it one of the most pressing questions. Disputes between home authorities and the colonies as to the regulation of that exploitation, as shown in the attitude of Shelburne and his successors, in prohibiting settlement west of the Alleghanies in 1763, was one, although only one, of the causes of the American Revolution. With the concession of independence by Great Britain and the establishment of the Mississippi as the western boundary of the United States, the St. Lawrence and Mississippi were divided, and North America fell apart into the protected regions which remained until the Reciprocity Treaty of 1854 partially restored free trade.

This period from 1783 to 1854 (limits more significant than the usual 1791 to 1840) embraces the great age of westward



expansion. Though the days of sea-faring New Englanders and Nova Scotians were not yet gone, America turned her back on the Atlantic and entered the era of internal expansion. In that expansion, two factors are of prime significance: first, the barriers to westward advance; and second, the barriers making difficult the continued communication with the older settlements. From the first of these the United States in this period was singularly free. Once through the Appalachian barrier the great plain of the Mississippi gave an open road to the Rockies. Formidable obstacles in the shape of dense forests there were indeed until the open prairie was reached, but no great barrier. To the westward, Canadian settlements in the St. Lawrence valley met the impassable barrier of the Laurentian highlands, bordering the Upper Lakes on the north so closely that for half a century progress into the easily settled prairie region beyond was effectually blocked. The immediate consequences of handing over to the United States the Upper Mississippi valley, to which access from the St. Lawrence was easy, were to be seen in the bitter struggles of the fur trade, the vain attempts of Canadian traders to retain the western forts at the time of Jay's Treaty, and the losing fight of the singularly able North West Company with their better personnel of French and Scottish traders against the exclusion policy of John Jacob Astor to the south and the ruthless competition of the Hudson's Bay Company to the north. In 1816 the Exclusion bill was passed, and the company which depended for its existence on the connection of the St. Lawrence with the west, was "submerged" (as one of the partners said) in the Hudson's Bay Company in 1821.

In her communication with the old settlements Canada was more fortunate. The St. Lawrence valley was a line of communication only partially open to the United States. The good fortune was however, not unmixed. The St. Lawrence linked the frontier of the west, not with expanding, well-developed communities such as the Atlantic states, but with a community whose commerce depended entirely on the interior and which was surrounded by a stable, conservative population, to a large extent self-sustaining, with laws and customs non-commercial, and giving rise to little commerce. There was for the St. Lawrence valley no manufacturing New England and no cotton-growing South. Further, though the St. Lawrence, the Ottawa, the Trent, and other tributary valleys gave an open road to the voyageur, the fur-trader, or even the incoming settler, the way was by no

means open for the return traffic of the timber and grain products of the western settlements.

For a period of half a century the scattered Canadian settlements entered into strenuous competition with the other routes from the interior to the seaboard. The Potomac Company, the Pennsylvania route, and the phenomenally successful Erie Canal were met by the stupendous efforts of the St. Lawrence canal system. The Erie had the great advantage of being complete before the British had grasped the problem, and when they were still occupied with the commercially useless Rideau. Most significant of all, the Erie was not a separate system, but a means of linking the upper St. Lawrence system with tidewater at New York. The existing stage communications had made the Albany route familiar to Upper Canadians, and the early opening of the Erie gave to New York a quantity of traffic which Montreal could not hope to equal for many years; and ocean freight rates to and from New York long reflected the better chances of getting both out-going and in-going cargoes.

In Canada of the first half of the nineteenth century we have a country in which population was moving westward to occupy the Upper St. Lawrence and Lower Lake regions at the same time as, at a much more rapid rate, the population of the United States was moving in great waves into the contiguous Mississippi valley. The people of both of these regions, though not of identical origin and with varied equipment for living, faced the same problem, confronted the same deficiency for colonial prosperity, the lack of a compact, saleable, transportable staple. In the case of the United States, however, the early building of the Erie Canal, the effective connection of the Mississippi with the cotton-growing South, and the much greater and more prosperous coast settlements gave a value to grain and timber products not found in Canada. The Canadian settlements in consequence lacked the prosperity which Durham and other observers noted in neighbouring parts of the United States. Not only, then, was Canadian development frustrated geographically at the north-west barrier of the Laurentian plateau, but economic and geographic facts constituted a frustration in the east.

These were the conditions with which commercial policy had to deal. In the United States the producers of bulky products in the upper central valley developed views of commercial policy different from those of the cotton planter of the South with a staple not only readily transported, but with a European market



undergoing phenomenal expansion. The course of the tariff history of the United States illustrates the changing policies which these conditions occasioned. Those conditions made the home market argument a powerful one in the middle and western states, while the commercial elements of New England and the planters of the South favoured free trade. It was this growing divergence in economic characteristics which formed the basis for the struggle between North and South whether the specific occasion might be the tariff or the extension of slavery. The divergence was one of conditions rather than of people, though in succeeding generations conditions produced diverging types of people also. Yet families like that of Henry Clay passed from the Carolinas to Kentucky. The Carolinian by descent becomes "Harry of the West" in a western environment. The free-trader by inheritance becomes a protectionist when confronted with a western problem.

The commercial policy of Canada was part of the British Colonial System. It became so in 1763, and after 1783 the system was more carefully applied. The old system, based on a theory of sub-tropical colonial staples, still continued, as seen in the projects in Canada for the growing of hemp and the regulation of the cutting of ships' timber. In addition, however, a newer mercantilism, directed towards cheap food and materials, was finding a limited expression, and the need for building a stable settlement was also apparent. One aspect of British policy is to be found in the attempt to substitute Canada for New England and the Middle Colonies in the West Indian trade. Another is seen in the encouragement offered by preferential duties on Canadian timber and grain. Both of these policies just failed of success.

Partly because of ill-adjustment of bounties and duties to specific conditions in the West Indian trade, as shown by the numerous complaints from Quebec merchants, and partly because inertia made it difficult to substitute satisfactory trade connections with Canada for the familiar New England trade, the West Indian trade did not take strong root in Canada, though it was somewhat more successful in the Maritime Provinces. The West Indian market for Canada was uncertain and difficult of access. Canadian production responded only slightly to a varying stimulus. In turn, effect became cause, and Canadian grain and lumber, uncertain and variable in supply, was unable to support the irregular West Indian demands. The results were bitter complaints from both colonies. The prohibition of trade with the United

States endangered the supplies of the British West Indies and put them at a disadvantage with the other islands depending on United States trade. The advantages of steady supply, of nearness, and of familiarity with the trade were clearly with the New England and the Middle States. When trade relations between the United States and the West Indies were broken off, as between 1826 and 1832, Canadian trade boomed and the western settlements flourished. With, however, the acceptance by Jackson of Huskisson's proposals, and the resumption of trade, the wave of prosperity subsided, and Canada once more strove with the task of Sisypheus.

Less need be said in regard to the failure of the preferential policy toward grain and timber. Dr. Shortt's *Imperial Preferential Trade* and his articles in *Canada and Its Provinces* have made that failure abundantly clear. Before 1825, the complete prohibition of colonial grain (when the price was below 67 shillings) made trade spasmodic and ill-organized. The setting of a fixed duty on colonial grain, and later the adoption of the sliding scale, made matters better, but the direct trade in grain was not great. During the forties, the point of interest was not so much Canadian grain as it was American grain making use of the newly built St. Lawrence canals and obtaining the advantage of the Canadian preference. Montreal interests favoured the free export of American grain through Canada after paying the Canadian duty. Sir Robert Peel's much-quoted words about Canada being an "integral part of the Empire" were repeated by the Montreal dealers to support their policy; and while the Canada Corn Law did not admit American grain shipped by the St. Lawrence route free, yet flour ground from that grain was freely admitted. This Act, which legalized much that had been carried on extra-legally, gave a fillip to the St. Lawrence flour industry; and the repeal of all duties on wheat and flour some years later was a staggering blow to these interests, since the trade depended on this artificial stimulation. [The economic and geographic union of the upper St. Lawrence waterway and the opening grain country of the American west was obvious, but, as Montrealers pointed out, the lower outward rates from New York more than counterbalanced the higher rates from the interior to New York.

The withdrawal of the preferences brought a similar and worse collapse in the timber trade, which had been considerably stimulated by the protection offered, although here too the trade was spasmodic and irregular. Further, the timber trade had

some of the peculiarities of the fur trade in its opposition to home-making and its absentee ownership, and brought some of the same unfortunate results to the regions affected.

From one point of view the preference system was merely a continuation of imperial commercial policy. From the point of view of western Canada, however, it was an attempt to overcome the natural obstacles of the bulky products of the St. Lawrence valley and assure them a European market. More effective than the preference toward this end were the substantially complete St. Lawrence Canals. The St. Lawrence lacked some of the advantages of the Erie. The volume of traffic was small and the outward rates from Montreal relatively high. Any considerable stimulus might have brought success, but economic events and conditions combined in the depressing years of the late forties to snatch success away. In 1850 British commercial policy had just failed to attain its object.

As the population of the United States spread across the Mississippi valley to possess it, new problems and new political forces arose in American history. The upper valley faced the same problem of the bulky products which confronted Western Canada. Thanks to the larger population, the rise of manufacturing in New England, the opening of the Erie Canal, the expansion of the cotton staple in the South, and the access to the south by the Mississippi, the United States solved its problem, though not without difficulty. Out of those difficulties in that period arose typical western forces. The adoption of protection, the opposition to "the money power" and the United States banks, the leaning toward "soft" money, and the pressure for internal improvements came out of western conditions of life. Triumphant pioneering democracy rose to its height in the election of Andrew Jackson, important less for himself than for the forces in American life which he represented. Crudities and lack of culture in that period there were, enough to excite the mirth of Goldwin Smith, but strength and national unity were also there. Confronted with nullification in Carolina and the extension of slavery in Kansas, those who stated and enforced the national position, were men of the west and the Mississippi valley, Jackson and Lincoln.

One looks in vain in Canadian history in the first half of the nineteenth century for any such triumphant movement of western forces. In the opposition to the Bank of Upper Canada, the division between the West and commercial Montreal, the dis-

putes over the Clergy Reserves, and the land policies of the Family Compact, similar situations brought similar reactions, but there was no effective movement. An easy explanation for this difference is the divergence between Canadian and United States "political nature". The Canadian, it is said, has never in politics gone to the extremes of his southern neighbour, nor has he expressed himself so much in popular movements. There is truth in the statement, but the difference is not accounted for. The pioneers of the American and of the Canadian west came from the same sources—the British colonies. It could scarcely be argued that the addition of Scottish elements represented by men such as Gourlay and Mackenzie added soberness to political life. Nor yet did English or Irish immigration bring steadier policies. There was no Jacksonian democracy and no Jackson in Canada because up to 1850 western development in Canada was doubly frustrated, at the east by the difficulties of the St. Lawrence route, and the European market for bulky staples, and at the west by the impassable barrier of the Laurentian highlands. Important as were the constitutional issues of 1837, particularly in the minds of argumentative Scotsmen, there was also a basis of economic failure. Not the least of the distinctions of Durham and Sydenham is that they saw this. Constitutionally, Sydenham was wrong, for he knew little about government. Economically he was right, for he knew much about business. When failure became more apparent in 1849, the Annexation Manifesto was a gesture of despair on the part of the most articulate portion of a frustrated colony.

The middle of the century brought a new era in Canadian history. The Lord Elgin who recognized the necessity of granting responsible government freely was no greater statesman than the Lord Elgin (pupil of the singularly able Hincks) who saw a partial relief from frustration in the Reciprocity Treaty of 1854. What the result of that treaty would have been had outside events been different it is difficult to say. Combined with the improvement of land and water transportation, and the substantial rise in grain prices resulting from the Crimean war, the larger local market, which the treaty gave, brought relief to the blocked colony. For more than half a century Western Canada had striven to reach the goal of colonial existence, the production of a staple export commodity. With this period the country passed from a stage of primitive diversified agriculture to the one-crop stage, the period (in the phrase of the late Mr. C. C. James)

"when wheat was king". Though not without its variations that period lasted until the end of the Civil War and the repudiation of the Reciprocity Treaty. The various phases of that period of abounding prosperity, with its railway politics, bank expansion, and incidental protection, are sufficiently well known. Economically, Canada was passing out of the colonial stage.

It would be dangerous to attempt to trace the direct political effects of these conditions. Constitutional difficulties, the supposed menace of an American army, the position of Quebec, and personalities were all solid and significant factors in the coming of Confederation. It is not unfair to say, however, that the dynamic factor which necessitated a constitutional readjustment was the expansion of Canada West in the fifteen years previous. Prosperity and expansion underlay "Representation by Population". The St. Lawrence valley, the Grand Trunk Railway, the grain trade were uniting factors in Canada. The expanding west demanded proportionate weight in a *national* government. Differences of race and of geography necessitated *federal* government.

This period of expansion saw the substantial breaking of the eastern frustration of Canadian development. True, dark days in the seventies and later followed, but once lifted from the frontier stage, the community was changed. The Ontario which turned to cheese, fruit-growing, and small manufacture during the years of trial was a different community from that which had depended on the uncertain support of the British preference fifty years before.

There remained at Confederation the problem of the West. The Laurentian barrier, making impossible the commercial connection of the St. Lawrence with the north central valley, continued to be the solid dominating fact of Canadian development. There could be no Canadian Chicago because there was no meeting of waterway and prairie to the north of the lakes. Grand Portage at the head of Lake Superior, with its well-nigh impassable trail to Winnipeg, was the sorry northern counterpart of Chicago.

In the last half of the nineteenth century, as from the beginning, Canadians found the easiest field of westward expansion in the Upper Mississippi valley. Fifty years before they had hoped that the necessity of St. Lawrence navigation would bring the population of the American west into a working union with Canada. Great as was the effort of the St. Lawrence canals, it failed to accomplish all that was expected. The Upper Mississippi

valley was preempted irrevocably by the United States. After the Civil War there could be no question of that. In the years that followed it seemed that the maxim of Henry Tudor would be justified, and that the greater would draw the less. After 1870, the cream of the immigrant and native population was drawn off to the easily settled prairie regions of the Upper Mississippi. The New West of the Canadians was the American North West. The Canadian frontier was the American frontier. In that period all the vitality which a moving frontier absorbs from a people, and gives back again, was lost to the communities of Canada. The export of men was draining the very life-blood of Ontario rural settlements. Canadian development was once more thwarted by geography.

It is this western frustration of Canadian development that furnishes the background for the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway, and for the "transcontinentalism" of present-day Canadian transportation. As first put forward, the Canadian Pacific project was an audacious, even a fool-hardy attempt to bridge the gap between Ontario and British Columbia; and from that point of view the gloomy prophecies that the road would not pay for its axle-grease were "safe and sane" judgments. Though the construction of the railway was a part of a contract with British Columbia, the justification of the railway, and ultimately its salvation, was the north central plain of the prairies. That portion of the railway which links Winnipeg with Lake Superior was and is the most essential part of Canada's transportation system. It gave the St. Lawrence valley access to a country capable of rapid expansion. Other parts of the railway system were important and essential, but none has had the significance of that section which overcomes the Laurentian barrier between the Great Lakes and the prairies. With the building of the Canadian Pacific and its coming to effectiveness in the nineties, just when forces external to Canada were bringing grain prices to higher levels, the western barrier was substantially overcome, and a period of phenomenal expansion set in. Once more a Canadian region by reason of higher prices for grain and improved transportation facilities overcame its physical barriers and entered a one-crop stage of agriculture, the stage of the world staple and of prosperity.

That period of expansion from about 1900 to 1913 was not only a period of growing western settlement, but a time of solid progress in almost all parts of the Dominion. It is as significant



for the Eastern manufacturer and the Northern Ontario miner as for the Western homesteader. Canada had room for expansion within her borders. A staple was exported to world markets; and, as southern cotton started the wheels of American industry and commerce in the nineteenth century, western wheat has permitted the initial step of the Canadian advance in the twentieth. It was only one commodity, and there were many; but it was the basis of that period of prosperity. The world staple primed the pump of Canadian industry.

To Canadians of the present generation political writings of fifty years ago read strangely. Annexation, commercial union, Zollverein, Canada First, Imperial Federation, these have no place in contemporary politics. We are less sensitive on these points. It is difficult to realize that Canadians ever believed in them. The difference is not in Canadians. It is in the economic background. When frustration of Canadian progress was overcome, and a period of expansion resulted, Canadian nationality was assured, and policies which cast doubt upon that nationality fell away. For the first time in Canadian history, powerful and effective western forces made themselves felt. For the first time western problems became capable of solution. The end is not yet; for the West still struggles in time of world-depression with a bulky staple and a long transportation haul. But improvements in transportation have made problems not insoluble. A new factor has arisen in the existence of a manufacturing East. Another is developing in the opening of the Pacific trade; and still another, of unknown significance, will come into play as the forest frontier of the north is attacked in earnest.

Canada is a nation created in defiance of geography, and yet the geographic and economic factors have had a large place in shaping her history. It is not contended that these are the only factors. Others have been often and adequately dealt with. But unless one is to consider Canada merely as a collection of racial types and not as a nation, the basic facts of economic and historical geography can never be ignored. In Canadian history as it is written, there is much of the romance of the individual, sometimes significant and sometimes not. It behooves present-day historians to perceive the romance of a nation in the story of a people facing the prosaic obstacles of a colonial existence, developing national traits, and winning through to nationhood.

W. A. MACKINTOSH

## EARLY DAYS OF THE MARITIME FUR-TRADE ON THE NORTHWEST COAST

IT is commonly stated that on his third and last voyage Captain James Cook, the great navigator, discovered Nootka Sound, on the northwest coast of America. Though we now know as a fact that Juan Perez, the Spaniard, had preceded him by almost four years, yet Cook's discovery was officially published to the world soon after the return of his vessels,<sup>1</sup> and when, about sixteen years later, the Spanish government gave out the first brief account of Perez's voyage<sup>2</sup> it was too late to disturb the settled belief.

While Captain Cook's ships lay at Nootka the sailors obtained from the natives about fifteen hundred sea-otter skins at a cost probably of less than sixpence each. Captain King says that six of the finest were obtained in exchange for a dozen large green glass beads. In this there was no thought of resale; the *Resolution* and *Discovery* had been absent from England more than two years, and the stock of clothing was about exhausted; this was merely a replacement. But at Kamschatka, and later at Canton, the sailors found in these casually obtained furs an unexpected source of wealth. One seaman sold his stock for eight hundred dollars; and a few prime, clean, well-preserved skins brought one hundred and twenty dollars each. No wonder that great excitement prevailed in the ships, and that, as Captain King tells us, the conduct of the sailors was little short of mutiny. The crews of the two vessels were obsessed with the scheme of returning to the American coast and obtaining there a cargo of furs that should make their fortunes.<sup>3</sup> Discipline, however, prevailed. But under such conditions the Admiralty's request of secrecy

<sup>1</sup> Captain James Cook's *Third Voyage* (London, 1784), vol. 2, pp. 264 *et seq.*

<sup>2</sup> *Relacion del Viaje hecho por las Goletas Sutil y Mexicana* (Madrid, 1802), pp. xcii *et seq.* For a full account of Juan Perez's voyage in 1774, see *Publications of the Historical Society of Southern California*, vol. 2, pt. I (1891), pp. 83-213.

<sup>3</sup> Captain Cook's *Third Voyage*, vol. 3, pp. 368-434 *et seq.*; Ledyard's *Journal* (Hartford, 1783), pp. 70 *et seq.*



was completely ignored, and we can well believe that after the arrival of the ships in England the story of the great wealth and the great demand lost nothing on the lips of the fortunate ones.

The first to think of utilizing this knowledge of a new source of wealth, in newest west and oldest east, was strangely enough a nation not prominent in the roll of maritime commerce—Austria. But this project remained only a dream. We know nothing of it except from the meagre statements in the introductions to Portlock's, Dixon's, and Marchand's *Voyages*. The scheme, which was conceived in 1781, appears to have reached a point where it was on the verge of being put into execution when it was abandoned because of the opposition of persons high in authority. It is interesting to note that the venture was to have been committed to the command of an Englishman.<sup>1</sup>

It is a matter of surprise that, though Captain Cook's vessels were in China in 1779, and no secret was made as to the place where the furs had been obtained, yet six years elapsed before the first expedition set forth from the Orient to exploit this trade.

At that time two chartered companies—the South Sea Company and the East India Company—held monopolies in the trade of all lands bordering on the Pacific Ocean. Their combined effect was to close the whole world between the Cape of Good Hope and Cape Horn to British subjects. Thus, no British subject could trade west of Cape Horn without a license from the former; nor could a British subject trade east of the Cape of Good Hope without a license from the latter.<sup>2</sup> These monopolies, as it will be seen later, constituted a heavy handicap upon the British in their attempt to develop and control the maritime fur-trade which Captain Cook's voyage had brought to the attention of the world.

The pioneer in the fur-trade on the coast of British Columbia was James Hanna, who commanded a small vessel of some sixty tons. He sailed from Macao in April, 1785, and returned in December of the same year with five hundred and sixty sea-otter skins that realized over \$20,000 in the Canton market.<sup>3</sup> It is not known under what flag his brig, which was in reality British,

<sup>1</sup> Marchand's *Voyage* (London, 1801), introduction, p. cxviii; Dixon's *Voyage* (London, 1789), p. xx; Portlock's *Voyage* (London, 1789), p. 2.

<sup>2</sup> Dixon's *Voyage*, pp. ix, 2; Portlock's *Voyage*, p. 4; Greenhow's *History of Oregon* (London, 1844), pp. 164-5.

<sup>3</sup> Dixon's *Voyage*, p. xvii, and Letter. xlvii, pp. 315-6; Portlock's *Voyage*, p. 4; Meares's *Voyages* (London, 1790), p. li.

was operated. It may or may not have had a license from the South Sea Company; the license of the East India Company could scarcely become of importance until the effort was made to dispose of the furs in China. It may even have masqueraded under the flag of another nation. Greenhow, indeed, says that this vessel sailed under Portuguese colours, but he cites no authority therefor, and in a footnote he shows that he is basing himself on the well-known printed sources, which do not anywhere justify the statement.<sup>1</sup> Our only information is contained in the casual and scattered references in Portlock's, Dixon's, and Meares's *Voyages*. The latter author claims to have seen Hanna's journal, which, he says, "was, as might be expected, very curious".

In the second year of its existence—1786—the maritime fur trade was represented by eight vessels, all British in reality.<sup>2</sup> Two of these, the *Sea Otter*, commanded by Captain Hanna, and the *Lark*, Captain Peters, came from China. Here again Greenhow is in error in stating that they operated under the Portuguese flag.<sup>3</sup> He cites no authority to support him, and we know from the Russian Shelikof, not only that the *Lark* was a British bottom, but that she was in the service of the East India Company for the purpose of establishing a trade between Macao and Alaska.<sup>4</sup> Four of the ships in this year came from India: the *Captain Cook* and the *Experiment*, under Lowrie and Guise, which sailed from Bombay; and the *Nootka* and the *Sea Otter*, under Meares and Tipping, which sailed from Bengal.<sup>5</sup> The two former were either operated by, or under the license of, the East India Company. Such a license was probably of little value on the coast of America; there it would seem the one authority required was the license of the South Sea Company; the East India Company only became interested when an attempt was made to trade on the China coast. These two vessels initiated a plan, frequently followed by others, but never successful, of leaving one of their crew to live amongst the natives during their absence and collect furs against their return. In this case, as on every subsequent occasion, one vessel sowed but another vessel reaped. The lone sailor invariably

<sup>1</sup> Greenhow, *History of Oregon*, p. 165.

<sup>2</sup> Dixon's *Voyage*, pp. xviii et seq.

<sup>3</sup> Greenhow, *History of Oregon*, p. 166.

<sup>4</sup> Shilikoff's *Voyages* (St. Petersburg, 1812), vol. I, pp. 60-4; Bancroft's *History of Alaska*, p. 230 (note).

<sup>5</sup> Dixon's *Voyage*, p. xix; Meares's *Voyages*, p. i.

tired of his voluntary exile before his employer's return, and was only too glad to seize the first opportunity of transferring himself and the fruits of his labours to the first vessel that arrived in the vicinity and was willing to accept him.<sup>1</sup> The *Nootka*, and presumably her consort the *Sea Otter*, were operating as British vessels without a license from either of the monopolistic companies. It was this trading on the American coast without the South Sea Company's license that underlay the trouble between Meares and Portlock and Dixon when they met in Alaskan waters, as is fully set forth in their respective volumes.<sup>2</sup> Dealing with this point, Dixon in his open letter to Meares says: "You may perhaps remember, Sir, that when I first went on board your vessel in Prince William's Sound, I inquired by what authority you was trading on that coast under English colours; at the same time I informed you that no vessels under such colours had any right there, unless they had a license from the South Sea Company, this you declared you had not; shortly afterwards, when you came on board our vessels at Montague Island, you perused our license from the South Sea Company, and I doubt not but you afterwards saw it at Canton, for mine was in the hands of Mr. Cox, at whose house you resided."<sup>3</sup>

Of these six vessels disaster overtook the *Lark*, which was wrecked on Copper Island, the most westerly of the Aleutian group, and Tipping's *Sea Otter*, which was never heard of after sailing from the Northwest Coast for China.

The remaining two vessels in the fur-trade in 1786 were the *King George* and the *Queen Charlotte*, commanded by Portlock and Dixon. These ships, the first to sail from Europe to engage in this undertaking, left England in 1785. They were well fortified in a commercial sense, carrying a license from the South Sea Company entitling them to trade on the west coast of America, and also one from the East India Company authorizing them to trade in China.<sup>4</sup> A great deal of the success of any maritime

<sup>1</sup> Dixon's *Voyage*, p. 232; Meares's *Voyages*, Chap. xi, p. 131.

<sup>2</sup> Meares's *Voyages*, p. xxiv *et seq.*; Portlock's *Voyage*, p. 218 *et seq.*; Dixon's *Voyage*, Letters xxix and xxx, p. 146 *et seq.*; *Life and Adventures of John Nicol* (London, 1822), p. 89.

<sup>3</sup> Dixon's *Further Remarks on Meares' Voyages* (London, 1791).

<sup>4</sup> Portlock says in his *Voyage*, p. 4: "For this purpose they obtained a license from the South Sea Company, who, without carrying on any traffic themselves, stand in the mercantile way of more adventurous merchants. They procured also a similar license from the East India Company, who at the same time engaged to give them a freight of Teas from Canton. This enterprise of the King George's Sound Company alone

venture to this coast depended upon the right to sell the furs in the Chinese market, always the best emporium, and obtain teas and oriental produce in exchange. The owners of these ships sent out in the following year two others; these are the only vessels, so far as the extant records show, that paid tribute to both the monopolies.

In 1787 the trade was still entirely in the hands of the British. Six vessels were employed: the *Nootka*, Captain Meares, the *Imperial Eagle*, Captain Barkley, the *King George* and the *Queen Charlotte*, Captains Portlock and Dixon, and the *Prince of Wales* and the *Princess Royal*, Captains Colnett and Duncan. Meares's ship, as already shown, was a sort of freebooter; British, but without any license such as a British ship should have had. Arriving late in the season of 1786, Meares had determined to winter in Snug Corner Cove, Prince William's Sound. Considerable trade was carried on with the Indians; but, as the season wore on, the salt food, close confinement, severe cold, and lack of exercise brought the inevitable scurvy. In February thirty of the crew were confined to their hammocks suffering from the dread disease; nearly all the officers and a great number of the foremast hands died before the spring came.<sup>1</sup> The death roll was twenty-three. In May the *King George* and the *Queen Charlotte* chanced to arrive in the vicinity. The divergent accounts of the subsequent occurrences have been already mentioned, and can be read in the published volumes of the disputants.<sup>2</sup>

The *Imperial Eagle*, Captain Barkley, is a very interesting ship. Accompanying the captain was his eighteen-year-old bride, the first white woman to see any part of the northwest coast of America. Fortunately she has left us a diary of the voyage. The owners, Mrs. Barkley tells us, were "supercargoes in China in the service of the East India Company and several of them were directors in England". In order to avoid the monopolies of the South Sea and East India companies they had outfitted the vessel at Ostend and placed her under the Austrian flag, renaming her the *Imperial Eagle*. Mrs. Barkley records that shortly after the ship had moored in Friendly Cove, Nootka Sound, a canoe came along side and a man in every respect like an Indian, and

evinces what English co-partnerships and English capitals could undertake and execute were they less opposed by prejudice and restrained by monopolies."

<sup>1</sup> Meares's *Voyages*, p. xi *et seq.*; Vancouver's *Voyage* (London, 1801), vol. 5, p. 336 *et seq.*, may be consulted in this connection.

<sup>2</sup> See references under note 2, p. 29.

a very dirty one at that, clothed in a greasy sea-otter skin, came on board and to her utter astonishment introduced himself as Dr. John Mackey, late surgeon of the trading brig, *Captain Cook*. He informed her that he had been living at Nootka amongst the Indians for the previous twelve months, during which time he had completely conformed himself to their habits and customs. Wherever Mackey obtained his habits and customs, Mrs. Barkley is emphatic in condemning them. He was anxious to enter Captain Barkley's service and was accordingly engaged as trader. His knowledge of the country, the natives, and their language was of great benefit to the captain. Through his efforts the greater part of the *Imperial Eagle's* cargo of seven hundred skins was obtained in the immediate vicinity of Nootka. On the arrival of the ship in China Mrs. Barkley explains that "the owners there found they were not warranted in trading to China and the Northwest Coast, even under the Austrian flag, the change being well known and for what purpose, so they found themselves through fear of losing their own situations obliged to sell the ship to avoid worse consequences".<sup>1</sup>

The *Prince of Wales* and the *Princess Royal* were owned by the King George's Sound Company, which also operated the *King George* and the *Queen Charlotte*. These four ships carried licenses from both companies. The *Princess Royal* was a sloop of fifty tons, the smallest craft which up to that time had entered the trade. Her predecessors had never ventured to leave the open ocean and the wide channels; but she demonstrated the advantage of the small vessel during this season in her navigation of the contracted and tortuous inner channels of the Princess Royal Isles.<sup>2</sup>

The Stars and Stripes appeared in the maritime fur-trade in 1788. The records of the time are incomplete, but so far as can be learned the British vessels in that year were only five: the *Iphigenia*, *Felice*, and *North West America*, Meares's fleet, and the *Prince of Wales* and *Princess Royal*. It is altogether probable that Meares took warning from his experiences with Portlock and Dixon in 1786-87, for when he appeared on the coast again in 1788 in the *Iphigenia* and the *Felice* they were flying the Portuguese flag. In the illustration in Meares's published volume,

<sup>1</sup> Manuscript Reminiscences of Mrs. Francis Hornby Barkley in the Archives of British Columbia.

<sup>2</sup> See Captain Charles Duncan's letter, dated January 17, 1791, in Dixon's *Further Remarks on Meares' Voyages*.

showing the launching of the *North West America*, the British flag is much in evidence; but it should be noted that the volume was not prepared until after his ships had been seized by Spain, and it was of importance to create the belief that on this coast his vessels appeared as British, and that the Portuguese flag was only a bit of camouflage to deceive the Chinese mandarins. In his memorial, Meares explains that this Portuguese appearance was a subterfuge resorted to to escape the heavy port charges levied by the Chinese upon all vessels except those of that nation.<sup>1</sup> But Captain Duncan, who commanded the *Princess Royal*, states that on the Northwest Coast the *Felice* was under Portuguese colours, and that on being hailed the answer was that she was "from Lisbon and that she was commanded by Don Antonio Pedro Mannella, or some such stuff"; and that Meares told him that he had "a fort at Nootka with guns mounted and the Portuguese colours flying over them".<sup>2</sup> This is supported by Haswell, who tells us in his Log that, on the arrival of the *Washington* in Nootka Sound on September 16, 1788, he found the *Iphigenia* and the *Felice*, "fitted out from Macao and under Portugees Coulers".<sup>3</sup> The evidence clearly establishes that evasion of Chinese port duties was not the sole motive for the use of the Portuguese flag; and there is no doubt that Dixon is right when he says: "No, Sir, your principal motive was to evade the South Sea Company's licence; fearful that you might fall in with some British ship, who probably would seize your vessel and bring you to England."<sup>4</sup> We may conclude that Meares was using the Portuguese flag as Barkley had used the Austrian, merely to enable vessels which were really British to avoid the monopoly of the two companies.

It is usually stated that the pioneer American trading voyage was that of the *Columbia* and the *Washington*, but if reliance is to be placed on John Boit's manuscript Log of the *Union*, the first American vessel to trade in furs on our coast was the *Eleanora* of New York, Captain Metcalf, which, he says, was so engaged in the summer of 1788.<sup>5</sup> The *Columbia* and the *Washington* did not reach Nootka until September, 1788, and did not begin to

<sup>1</sup> A copy of this memorial is included in the Appendix to Meares's *Voyages*.

<sup>2</sup> Duncan's Letter above, and Dixon's *Further Remarks*.

<sup>3</sup> Haswell's First Log MS., under date September 16, 1788.

<sup>4</sup> Dixon's *Further Remarks on Meares' Voyages*.

<sup>5</sup> Boit's manuscript Log of the *Union* in the Library of the Massachusetts Historical Society.



traffic for furs before March, 1789. They spent the winter at Friendly Cove, Nootka Sound.<sup>1</sup> Prior to this time it had been customary for the vessels to return to China at the end of the season or to winter at the Sandwich (Hawaiian) Islands. The only exception was in the case of Meares, who in the *Nootka* in 1786-87 spent, as already mentioned, a frightful winter at Prince William's Sound. This innovation had the advantage of enabling the Americans to become better acquainted with the natives, to learn their language, to seize such trade as might offer during the winter, and to be on the spot ready to begin operations as soon as the spring opened. This precedent, though not uniformly observed, was followed in a number of cases. It is referred to merely to show that the Americans on entering the trade did not feel themselves bound to adopt the methods used by other traders, but struck off on such lines as appeared to them wise.

The purpose of this paper is to show that it was this initiative, coupled with the handicap of these two monopolies on the British trade, which enabled the Americans within less than fifteen years to obtain the complete control of the maritime fur-trade on the northwest coast of America.

It is not intended to draw a complete picture of the maritime fur-trade, but only of so much of it as falls within this limitation. For this reason no description will be attempted of the work performed or the trade carried on by the Russians, Spanish, or French. As regards the Russians, it is sufficient to say that while trading on the coast they were not maritime fur-traders; and moreover their market was not in Canton, but in Kiachta. The Spaniards never had a private trading vessel on the Northwest Coast. On rare occasions the officers and crews of the King's ships did engage in a little trade, but it was more as a diversion than as serious business. Martinez gave much thought to the maritime trade, and in his diary will be found the outlines of a considered plan to capture this lucrative business for Spain. The French traders were so few in number that they are quite negligible. La Pérouse's expedition of 1785-1788 was a government undertaking in which trade was carried on merely to ascertain the possibilities. The other French traders were Marchand in 1791, Magon in 1792, Péron in 1796, and Roquefeuil in 1817-1818.

The American vessels, it is believed, were generally commanded

<sup>1</sup> Haswell's First Log MS., under dates cited.



by young men. Morison, in his *Maritime History of Massachusetts*, suggests as an explanation that "the generation of Revolutionary privateersmen was so quickly absorbed in our expanding merchant marine as to call the youngest classes to the colors". John Boit was seventeen years of age when he was on this coast as fifth mate of the *Columbia*; two years later he sailed from Boston in command of the eighty-nine-ton sloop *Union* on a trading voyage to the northwest coast of America. William Sturgis left Boston as a sixteen-year-old foremast hand on the *Eliza* bound for this coast; on her return four years later he re-engaged as first mate of the ship *Caroline*, and owing to the continued illness of the captain was the actual person in command on the coast and during the remainder of the voyage. And so the story goes on. John Hoskins, the clerk and supercargo of the *Columbia*, writing to her principal owner, Barrell, says, after dealing with the business: "Sir, you'll please to let my mama know that I am well; Mr. Boit also requests you'll let his parent know he is in health." Such a human touch, tucked into a postscript, in a neat clerkly hand, in the corner of the letter, speaks volumes on the point of age.

Each succeeding year saw the number of American traders increase. Vancouver, in his list of vessels on the coast in 1792, names seven American, eleven British, two Portuguese, and one French.<sup>1</sup> The two Portuguese ships, the *Iphigenia* and the *Fenis and St. Joseph*, it is quite probable were in reality British. In a commercial struggle where one competitor was free while the other was hedged about with restrictions and forced to resort to subterfuges, the result could not be doubtful. Between 1790 and 1818 there were 108 American vessels and only 22 British vessels engaged in this traffic in peltry;<sup>2</sup> and even this small number of British ships belongs almost in its entirety to the period before 1800. It may be suggested that the war with France which began in 1793 may account for this decrease; but if that war had any influence at all, it was so slight as to be practically negligible. In 1799, according to Cleveland, there were ten trading vessels from Boston alone on the coast; in 1801 the American ships

<sup>1</sup> Vancouver's *Voyage*, vol. 6, p. 399; and compare with the list in his letter to the Admiralty set out in Report of Archives Department of British Columbia for 1913, p. 28. Neither of these lists is exactly correct; there are errors of inclusion and of exclusion.

<sup>2</sup> Bancroft's *History of the North West Coast*, vol. I, p. 359.

numbered fifteen; the British one.<sup>1</sup> And from that time for over twenty years the British flag was not seen at the mast-head of any trading vessel, until the Hudson's Bay Company entered the field after the union of 1821. Alexander Mackenzie acknowledged in 1801 that the coast trade was then "left to American adventurers, who without regularity or capital, or the desire of conciliating future confidence, look altogether to the interest of the moment". He proceeds: "They, therefore, collect all the skins they can procure, and in any manner that suits them, and having exchanged them at Canton for the produce of China, return to their own country. Such adventurers, and many of them as I have been informed have been very successful, would instantly disappear from before a well-regulated trade."<sup>2</sup>

The British, like the Americans, came amongst the natives equipped with the standard articles of barter: bars of iron, sheets of copper, knives, axes of all kinds and shapes, chisels, pots and pans, mirrors, guns and gunpowder, blankets, clothing, blue cloth, besides of course buttons, beads, bells, trinkets, etc., etc.<sup>3</sup> The Indians were exceedingly whimsical in their tastes. One trader might find a great demand for clothing, but a month or a year later clothing might be quite useless as a purchasing medium, and the demand might be only for sheets of copper; again, when sheets of copper were offered, they might be rejected as being too thick, or too thin, or for some other reason.<sup>4</sup> In these conditions all the traders strove to discover what the changeable native needed, or thought he needed, and to supply it, and wherever possible to guide his desires along the lines that their vessels were able to supply. The resourceful American went further; he was not content to satisfy or even to direct these desires; he would create them. A good example in this respect is that of Ingraham, who in 1790-92 was in command of the Boston brigantine *Hope*. He found on his arrival in 1791 that the Indians were well supplied by the British ships that had preceded him with clothing and all sorts of cooking utensils, and realized that if he were to succeed he must invent something that would attract them. Noticing their fondness for bracelets and necklets he

<sup>1</sup> Cleveland's *Voyages* (London, 1855), p. 94; Sturgis, *North West Fur Trade* in Hunt's *Merchant's Magazine*, vol. xiv, p. 532 *et seq.*

<sup>2</sup> Alexander Mackenzie's *Voyages* (London, 1801), p. 411.

<sup>3</sup> Jewitt's *Narrative* (Middletown, 1815), p. 14, shows the cargo of the ship *Boston* in 1802.

<sup>4</sup> Roquereuil's *Voyage* (London, 1823), pp. 78, 81; Meares's *Voyages*, pp. lxix, 121.

determined to create a demand for a new and fashionable article—iron collars. Iron rods about half an inch in diameter were cut into pieces of suitable length to slip over the head and encircle the neck; three of these pieces were, by the blacksmith, neatly twisted together into a collar and nicely polished; the hideous ornament, when completed, weighed from five to seven pounds, but fashion counts not inconvenience. The new fashion took by storm the belles and beaux of Queen Charlotte Islands. Fashionable articles are proverbially expensive. This latest fad in attire cost three prime sea-otter skins. A prime sea-otter skin in the trade was one that reached from a man's chin to his feet; it was usually worth forty dollars, in China. Wherever he went Ingraham put the natives, so to speak, in irons. The smith was kept busy fabricating these collars fast enough to meet the demand. Articles of utility were contemned; every one must have an iron collar.<sup>1</sup> Alexander Mackenzie saw some of these, or similar, collars at Cascade Inlet in 1793 which weighed upwards of twelve pounds. He says that the iron "is generally beat into bars of fourteen inches in length, and one inch three quarters wide".<sup>2</sup> From this description it would seem quite likely that Ingraham, though the inventor, did not have a monopoly of the iron collar manufacture. Returning to the coast in 1792, Ingraham prepared for trade by laying in a stock of these collars and of daggers made in the shape that had been previously demanded, but to his surprise the Indians would not accept either, and required table spoons which in the previous year they would scarcely accept as a gift, heavy leather to make their coats of mail, and a special kind of pearl shell.<sup>3</sup>

Other people saw the opportunities, but did not realize the possibilities. For example, Langsdorff noticed the high estimation in which ermine skins were held by the natives, and observed that no dancer on a ceremonial occasion was completely and properly attired unless he had them on his head, or in his hands, or sewed to the edges of his garments.<sup>4</sup> It remained, however, for an American, William Sturgis, to convert this taste into money. He purchased some five thousand ermine skins in Boston

<sup>1</sup> See Ingraham's manuscript Journal under date July 10, 1791, and subsequent dates; *The Voyage of the Hope* (Washington Historical Quarterly, vol. 12, p. 10 *et seq.*).

<sup>2</sup> Mackenzie's *Voyages*, p. 334.

<sup>3</sup> Ingraham's *Journal*, July 3, 1792, and subsequent dates; *The Voyage of the Hope* (Wash. Hist. Quar., vol. 12, p. 21).

<sup>4</sup> Langsdorff's *Travels* (Carlisle, 1817), pp. 398, 412.

at thirty cents each, and on arriving at Queen Charlotte Islands in 1804 exchanged them at the rate of five for a prime sea-otter skin.<sup>1</sup> Verily this was carrying coals to Newcastle. In this connection Langsdorff also records an instance in which a resourceful but unscrupulous American trader overreached himself. The shell *dentalium indianorum*, commonly called hiaqua, was much esteemed by the coast Indians and amongst them fulfilled some of the functions of money. This trader conceived the idea of having a large quantity of porcelain imitations of these shells manufactured in England for use as a means of barter. Though the false "shells" were so well executed in size, form, and polish that they had a very natural appearance, yet the natives were not to be imposed upon; they detected the fraud and treated the pretended "shells" with the utmost contempt. The speculation proved entirely abortive.<sup>2</sup> Probably its failure did not teach the trader that honesty was the best policy.

Again, from the beginning the trading vessels had followed the custom of sailing along the coast, perhaps at a distance of a mile or two, perhaps at eight or ten miles or more, firing a gun to attract the attention of the natives and sometimes laying-to to enable them to paddle out with their furs. When the traders were few and the furs plentiful, this plan worked satisfactorily, as readers of Dixon and Haswell know,<sup>3</sup> but with competition a change became necessary. Some persisted in sticking to the old method and, by reason of the opposition, flitting the more quickly from spot to spot. This conduct, however, only had the effect of making the Indian more keenly alive to the exchange value of his furs. Ingraham, of the Boston brigantine *Hope*, was the first to follow a different course. He was content, when he found a promising village, to anchor and remain there while the Indians daily hunted or traded for, or otherwise obtained, the skins. Naturally the natives preferred to deal with the trader at their door rather than to follow a will-o'-the-wisp miles out at sea. The other vessels too found it useless to attempt to carry on any business at a village where there was what might be called a resident trader. In his journal Ingraham claims that his success in obtaining more than fourteen hundred sea-otter skins in forty-nine days, while in the same period the *Columbia* and the

<sup>1</sup> *North West Fur Trade* in Hunt's *Merchant's Magazine*, vol. xiv, p. 532.

<sup>2</sup> Langsdorff's *Travels*, p. 413; and see a similar and partially successful attempt recorded by Roquefeuil in his *Voyage*, p. 53.

<sup>3</sup> Dixon's *Voyage*, p. 201; Haswell's MS. First Log, June, 1789.

*Hancock* had each obtained only between five hundred and six hundred skins, was owing to his remaining in the same place, while they rushed wildly hither and thither.

The British had from the beginning to the end done their trade generally over the ship's side, not allowing any on deck but the chiefs and persons of influence and authority. The Americans introduced the plan of trading on the vessel's deck and allowing the savages freely to congregate thereon. While this gave an air of intimacy and almost of friendliness to their trading and greatly pleased the natives, it was a large factor in the origin of the assaults upon and the attempts to capture the trading vessels. Here, as ever, familiarity bred contempt. There is no record of a British vessel, with the exception of Captain Hanna's first ship, being attacked or captured by the Indians, but there are many such cases in the annals of the American traders.<sup>1</sup>

Meares, one of the earliest British traders, brought to our shores the frame of a small vessel to be constructed and used in the coastal trade. This was the *North West America*, already mentioned—the first craft of any kind to be built by civilized man on the Northwest Coast. The only other recorded instance in which this plan was followed by the British was in the case of the *Three B's* in 1792, as mentioned in the anonymous account of Vancouver's voyage.<sup>2</sup> But with the Americans it was a common practice; sometimes they brought the frame of a sloop, sometimes of a schooner, and sometimes of a large long boat. The *Columbia*, *Hancock*, *Margaret*, and *Jefferson* are typical instances.<sup>3</sup> Such small craft could safely venture into unknown waters and unexamined harbours where the larger vessels dared not enter; and at the same time they doubled the capacity for trade.<sup>4</sup> Often-times these "mosquito" craft were sold after their work was done, as for example the *Adventure*, built by the *Columbia* in 1791-92, and purchased by the Spaniards. The Americans too were willing to sell their ships and send their furs to China by the small vessels, as in the case of the *Juno*, which was sold to the

<sup>1</sup> The capture of the *Boston* and the *Tonquin*, the attempts to capture the *Columbia*, the *Washington*, and the *Atahualpa* are familiar to readers.

<sup>2</sup> See the *New Vancouver Journal* in *Washington Historical Quarterly*, vol. 5, p. 301.

<sup>3</sup> See Hoskins's *Narrative MS.*; *New Vancouver Journal* (*Wash. Hist. Quar.*, vol. 6, pp. 54, 56); La Rochefoucauld-Liancourt, *Voyages*, vol. 3, p. 20; Langsdorff's *Travels*, p. 97.

<sup>4</sup> Cleveland's *Voyages* (New York, 1886), p. 49.

Russians, and of the *Delia Byrd*, which was sold to King Kamehameha of the Sandwich (Hawaiian) Islands.<sup>1</sup> In truth, from the outset and at all times, anything that the Americans had on the coast—goods, equipment, furs, vessels—was for sale, and it was only a question of a satisfactory price.

The custom of wintering at the Sandwich (Hawaiian) Islands was broken by the *Columbia*, the first representative of Boston on the coast; and from that time frequently, but by no means invariably, her example was followed.<sup>2</sup> But as year by year the stress of competition was more keenly felt the practice gradually arose of continuing the trade throughout the whole year. Here we see the same conditions producing the same results in the maritime fur-trade as in the land trade. I have before me the log of the ship *Hamilton* of Salem on a trading voyage to the Northwest Coast in 1810. It shows the ship constantly flitting about from place to place in the neighbourhood of Queen Charlotte Islands, the Nass and Stickeen Rivers, and Clarence Strait during the whole winter of 1810-11, and incidentally indicates that some four or five other American vessels were similarly engaged.<sup>3</sup>

The skins that were at first sought were those of the sea-otter, but the Americans soon extended the trade to include those of any and every land animal and also those of the fur-seal. The Americans did not limit their efforts to the mere matter of trading; they were prepared to engage in the hunting of both the sea-otter and the fur-seal. As early as 1793 the ship *Jefferson* of Boston, Captain Roberts, landed a party on St. Ambrose Isle off the South American coast. For seven weeks the ship hovered near the island while the slaughter of the fur-seals went on; in that time thirteen thousand seal skins were obtained. This wholesale destruction was only ended by the migration of the seal herd. Thence the ship sailed to the Northwest Coast to engage in the fur trade.<sup>4</sup> So too as regards the sea-otter. On the portion of the coast north of Mexico, *i.e.*, north of the Spanish settlement of San Francisco, the Americans like the other traders

<sup>1</sup> Boit's Log of the *Columbia* (Oregon Historical Quarterly, vol. 22, p. 331); Munro's voyage of the *Junco*, in *Tales of an Old Sea Port* (Princeton, 1917), p. 122; Patterson's *Narrative* (Palmer, 1817), p. 63; Langsdorff's *Travels*, pp. 377-409; Voyage of the *Delia Byrd* in *American Register*, vol. 3 (1808), p. 137 *et seq.*

<sup>2</sup> For example, the *Margaret* left part of her crew to winter at Nootka, 1792-93; see *New Vancouver Journal* in *Wash. Hist. Quar.* vol. 6, p. 54.

<sup>3</sup> Log of the ship *Hamilton*, original in Essex Institute in Salem, Mass.

<sup>4</sup> Massachusetts Historical Collections, 1st Series, vol. 4 (1795), p. 238 *et seq.*



obtained the sea-otter skins from the Indians by barter. In New Spain (Mexico) the trade in these skins was at first a royal monopoly, but later was allowed to be carried on by the inhabitants subject to the restriction that they should be exported through Mexican ports. The Americans paid no attention to these prohibitions. In 1803 the *Eclipse*, Captain O'Cain, led the way in a looting of the Mexican coast. Alient hunters with their bidarkas were engaged in Alaska and taken to the forbidden coast to hunt the sea-otter on shares. And this bad example, having been successful, was the more readily followed by others.<sup>1</sup> Finally, however, according to Bancroft, the Russian American Company refused to furnish any more hunters, being convinced "that their Yankee partners could neither be trusted nor watched, besides arousing the enmity of Spain by their unlawful operations".<sup>2</sup>

Captain John Kendrick was the first to branch out and add sandalwood from the Sandwich and other South Sea islands to the maritime fur-trade. Walrus tusks and pearls soon became a part of the trade as developed by the Americans. In fact anything and everything that could be turned into money was eagerly sought and readily accepted by them. Vancouver informs us that in his last voyage (1793-94) Kendrick collected amongst the Sandwich Islands a considerable quantity of beeswax that had floated ashore from some vessel.<sup>3</sup> "An American has been known," says Roquefeuil, "to leave a detachment of his crew at the Falkland Islands, to double Cape Horn, ascend to the north, leave a second detachment on the rocks before San Francisco, in California, 2,500 leagues from the other, then repass the Cape with some men, collect his detachments on both coasts and purchase in China with the produce of their fishery, a cargo for the United States."<sup>4</sup> Another writer is more blunt. According to him these adventurers set out on a voyage with a few trinkets of little value; in the Southern Pacific they pick up some seal skins and perhaps a few butts of oil; at the Gallipagos they lay in turtle, of which they preserve the shells; at Valparaiso they raise a few dollars in exchange for European articles; at Nootka and other parts of the Northwest Coast they traffic with

<sup>1</sup> Voyage of the *Juno*, *supra*, p. 121. The list is a long one indeed, but includes the *Derby*, *Mercury*, *O'Cain*, *Albatross*, and *Isabella*.

<sup>2</sup> Bancroft, *History of the North West Coast*, vol. I, p. 319.

<sup>3</sup> Vancouver's *Voyage*, vol. 5, pp. 121-2.

<sup>4</sup> Roquefeuil's *Voyage*, p. 17.



the natives for furs, which when winter comes they carry to the Sandwich Islands to dry and preserve from vermin; here they leave their own people to take care of them, and in the spring they take on board the natives of the islands to assist in navigating to the Northwest Coast in search of more skins. The remainder of the cargo is then made up of sandalwood, tortoise shell, shark fins, and pearls of an inferior kind, and with them and their dollars they purchase cargoes of tea, rice, and nankeens, and thus complete their voyage in the course of two or three years.<sup>1</sup>

It has been mentioned that the American traders gathered sea-otter skins on the Mexican coast without regard to the prohibition; in like manner they paid little heed to the Chinese restrictions on the sale of furs. On his arrival in China in the autumn of 1791, Ingraham found that, owing to the war between China and Russia, the Chinese, under the mistaken notion that the fur-trade was wholly connected with Russian interests, had prohibited all vessels having furs on board from entering Canton, the great Chinese fur mart.<sup>2</sup> Marchand, who was there at the same time in *La Solide* with a cargo of furs, abandoned his purpose and carried them on to France. This Ingraham could not believe. He says in his journal: "I was afterwards informed he had smuggled them ashore through the interest of the Padres, which I believe was the case as the ship sailed shortly after and it did not seem probable they would take their skins with them to the Isle of France." At any rate he had come to sell his furs in China and sell them he would, despite the prohibition. So he and the other American captains entered upon a regular course of smuggling them ashore. It was a lengthy and risky undertaking, but he was not going to accept defeat as Marchand had done. Incidents of this kind throw light upon the vigour and determination of the American traders, and, whether admired or not, aid in accounting for the control which they obtained in such a short time over the maritime fur-trade.

Thus it will be seen that, while free from the galling monopolies that were strangling British effort, the Americans by their initiative, energy, and natural aptitude for trade of that kind strengthened themselves in the contest and as a result of the combination of these various factors within twelve years succeeded in obtaining the complete mastery and in making the Northwest Coast a trade

<sup>1</sup> *Quarterly Review*, vol. xvi, p. 84.

<sup>2</sup> Marchand's *Voyage*, vol. 2, p. 94.

suburb of Boston. The Union Jack, after 1800, was almost an unknown flag on the Pacific coast until the arrival of the Hudson's Bay Company's schooner *Cadboro* in 1827. Indeed, after 1800 it might be said that no flag was seen in the maritime fur-trade but the Stars and Stripes. In 1818 Roquefeuil, in command of the French ship *Bordelais*, as he sailed along our shores constantly "hoisted American colours, these being the best known by the savages of this coast".<sup>1</sup>

Nevertheless, the determining factor in the struggle appears to have been these monopolies. The East India Company was very powerful and very jealous of its exclusive right to all the British trade of the China seas. Even in the venture of British merchants in the *King George* and *Queen Charlotte* they were required, as a condition of obtaining their licenses, to load tea in China on account of the East India Company. The ship *Jenny* of Bristol, England, which was on the coast in 1792, took her cargo of furs directly home to England. It would appear that this method of dealing was not satisfactory, for when she appeared again in the trade in 1794 Vancouver states that she was, after completing the season, to sail to China, and sell her furs there. Her return cargo was to be tea; but not tea purchased with the proceeds of the sales of her sea-otter skins; it was to be tea owned by the East India Company, which was being carried by her merely as freight.<sup>2</sup> Other instances to the same effect could be cited. Thus it will be seen that the British traders might by paying for a license obtain the right to trade on the Northwest Coast and to dispose of the furs so obtained in China; but they could not make the further profit that would arise from exchanging the furs for tea and other oriental products. There was, it is scarcely necessary to add, a vast difference between the profit on a cargo of tea and the mere freight thereon. The Americans had no such restriction, and had therefore, at any rate theoretically, a perfect golden round of profits: first, the profit on the original cargo of trading goods when exchanged for furs; second, the profit when the furs were transmuted into Chinese goods; and third, the profit on those goods when they reached America. The manner in which the East India Company's monopoly strangled the British trade is perhaps best seen by observing its effect on the operations of the North West Company after the purchase of

<sup>1</sup> Roquefeuil's *Voyage*, p. 76.

<sup>2</sup> Vancouver's *Voyage*, vol. 2, p. 386, vol. 6, p. 90.

Astoria. They endeavoured to carry out Astor's plans, which were in reality an adaptation of the scheme suggested by Sir Alexander Mackenzie, and gain the triple golden round of profits. Perhaps they believed, as Mackenzie did, that "it would be very unbecoming in me to suppose, for a moment, that the East India Company would hesitate to allow those privileges to their fellow-subjects which are permitted to foreigners, in a trade that is so much out of the line of their own commerce, and therefore cannot be injurious to it."<sup>1</sup> If so, they were mistaken. The records show that for three successive years, 1813, 1814, and 1815, the energetic Nor'Westers despatched a vessel to the Columbia River. The first, the *Isaac Todd*, after discharging her trading goods, took on board the collected furs and sailed for Canton. Presumably the furs were sold there. At any rate she "brought a cargo of tea to England for account of the East India Company".<sup>2</sup> The schooner *Columbia* and the brig *Colonel Allen* had, it would seem, similar experiences. It was quite impossible to obtain a cargo of tea except as a mere carrier for the great company. As a result, after the three years' trial, the attempt was abandoned, and the trade was handed over to the Americans. Here is the company's statement: "The outfits of these vessels [*i.e.*, those above mentioned] having been found expensive and unproductive in consequence of the restriction of British subjects from trading in China except under License from the East India Company which Company refused to permit the Agents of the North West Company to carry away tea in return for the skins sold by them at Canton whilst American ships and Traders not being under similar restrictions had the benefit of freight for the whole voyage to China and back. Under these circumstances in the year 1815 an arrangement was made with a house at Boston under which the supplies of British manufactures required for the establishments at the Columbia were sent from England to Boston from whence a ship was dispatched to convey them to the Columbia to take the skins from the Columbia to Canton and to carry the proceeds of their sale in Teas and other produce of China from Canton to Boston where the American house retained a certain proportion of the net proceeds as a compensation for the freight."<sup>3</sup> In this manner supplies were sent to the Columbia River and the

<sup>1</sup> Alexander Mackenzie's *Voyages*, p. 412.

<sup>2</sup> *Certain Correspondence of the Foreign Office* (Ottawa, 1899), part ii, p. 10.

<sup>3</sup> *Id.*; Ross, *Fur Hunters of the Far West* (London, 1855), vol. I, pp. 117-18.

produce in the form of tea brought back in each year from 1816 until the union in 1821. When the Hudson's Bay Company assumed control the annual ship carried the furs to their centre, London; but by that time the sea-otter was little more than the name of a half-extinct animal. In the beginning the British trade, then carried on by individuals, was compelled to take shelter against these monopolies under a foreign flag; and in the end that trade, though in the hands of a powerful company, was obliged to resort to the same subterfuge. It may therefore be concluded that these monopolies were the greatest factor making for the defeat of the British in their effort to control the maritime fur-trade. The triumph of the Boston vessels was, however, merely temporary; in the end the trade fell into the hands of the Hudson's Bay Company. But that is another and a different story.

F. W. HOWAY

## NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

### A NEW ACCOUNT OF THE DEATH OF WOLFE

THE letter here published is from a collection of typewritten copies of the correspondence of John Graves Simcoe, preserved at Wolford, Honiton, Devon. The transcripts were made for the late Mr. John Ross Robertson, of Toronto, who by his will bequeathed them to the Public Archives of Canada.

My attention was directed to this letter by Mr. Parker of the Manuscript Division of the Public Archives of Canada, and I thought it of sufficient interest for publication in the *CANADIAN HISTORICAL REVIEW*. So far as I am aware, the letter has not been published. Holland claims that he had collected some plans, remarks, and journals of the campaigns of 1758-59 which he intended to publish. He was therefore particularly familiar with the events to which he refers in the letter. Most of his statements are corroborated by contemporary letters and journals, and on the whole the letter is a distinct contribution to the history of the Battle of the Plains. On the 13th of September, Holland was engaged in throwing up works on the plains, and he must have been near the line during the engagement. Temporary works were thrown up, on the morning of the 13th, not far from the place where Wolfe fell, and the camp of the British on the evening of the 13th was within a few yards from this place. Holland as an engineer must in all probability have been during the whole morning in the vicinity of the place where Wolfe fell, and it is not unreasonable to suppose that he was one of the first to notice his fall.

A. G. DOUGHTY

[*Transcript*]

Near Quebec, June 10th, 1792.

Sir,—

Your letter of the 26th ult. has afforded me the sincerest pleasure as it recalls to my mind the glorious days I have been a witness of, when

serving under the auspices of the justly lamented and ever immortal Wolfe. As the several plans, remarks, journals, etc., of the Campaignes of 1758 and 59 collected by me were unfortunately stolen with my baggage out from behind my post chaise near London some years since, where I was carrying them with an intention to their being published, I am frustrated in my design of entering with that minuteness and precision on the subject I could wish, but as I retain fresh in my memory those never to be effaced scenes so fatal to our loved Commander, and of exulting triumph to the British Nation, I will endeavour to comply with the request you have been pleased to honor me with. I am fortunately the more capable of so doing by having since frequently fought the battle over with gentlemen who have had the curiosity to view the ground of action. But as your enquiries are more pointed, your knowledge of the business more perfect, and your examinations during our visit to the field carried on with a real tactical eye, I am consequently obliged to enter into a detail of circumstances to render the subject more explicit and fulfil Your Excellency's wishes.

To comprehend more fully the affair of the 31st July near Montmorency it is necessary to have recourse to some facts that happened prior to the business, and which will help to elucidate the matter and more fully show that no serious hopes were entertained by General Wolfe of succeeding by that way,<sup>1</sup> but that it was one amongst those masterly manoeuvres that led to the great and successful event of the 13th September, for no sooner had Brigadier General Monckton been well posted

<sup>1</sup>When Wolfe sailed for Canada on February 17, 1759, he had in his possession a map of Quebec and a report of the buildings and works of the city. This was made by Patrick MacKellar, Chief Engineer, two years before the expedition. The plan was enlarged from a French plan by Bellin with notes from personal observations by MacKellar, who by some means had gained access to the city and made good use of his opportunities. Before Wolfe reached Quebec, he wrote: "I reckon we shall have a smart action at the passage of Saint Charles, unless we can steal a detachment up the river and land them three miles, or more, above the city." The cove where he landed on September 13 is two miles from the city.

On July 19 detachments from the 15th, 48th, and 78th Regiments and a battalion of the Royal Americans were sent up the river under Carleton to procure intelligence and divide the forces of the enemy. On this day Wolfe wrote in his journal: "Reconnoitred the shore above Quebec. If we had ventured the stroke first intended we should probably have succeeded." Up to this time Wolfe had thoughts of an attempt above the city, but he carefully concealed his intentions. A prisoner taken by the French on this day declared that Wolfe was fearful of making an attack on the city and would wait for Amherst. The prisoner also stated that Wolfe intended to cross the River Montmorency above the falls. By dividing the force of the enemy and by circulating reports of intended attacks in different places, he may have hoped to divert the French from the desperate attempt at the ford on July 31.

at Point Levi,<sup>2</sup> and the Batteries on that side damaged the town,<sup>3</sup> than General Wolfe proceeded to reconnoitre the north shore above the town, escorted by Major Goreham and his Corps of Rangers.<sup>4</sup> He did me the honor of taking me with him on this party and went towards Etcheman River,<sup>5</sup> nearly opposite to the Cove of Foulon, now Wolfe's Cove. He halted, and in the French Language asked me if ever I had observed whether the Indians and Canadians hutted on the brow of the hill came often to the water side. I offered him my spy-glass which he accepted and could see them now playing in their canoes and then bathing in the river.

We proceeded on our march to the Chaudiere River,<sup>6</sup> and on our returning to Etcheman River Major Goreham was directed to take post there,<sup>7</sup> and myself directed personally by the General to be frequent in my visits to this post, and be particularly attentive to the movements on the opposite side and discover the number of people that came to the water edge, the time of their coming down, the length of their stay, etc., remarks which in my mind all tended to show his design of landing at the Foulon to be predetermined. Indeed the General soon after confirmed me in my ideas. However the next morning,<sup>8</sup> in obedience to his orders, I repaired early to Goreham's post and had a full opportunity of giving the clearest information of the movements made by the people opposite, who I found came down to the beach merely

<sup>2</sup> The batteries at Levi were begun on July 4, and finished on the 12th. On that day all the batteries opened fire, but the shots fell short, much to the amusement of the French.

<sup>3</sup> Ninety-six shells and seven carcasses were thrown into the city on July 15. On the 16th a shell fell on the powder magazine and upon houses in Mountain street and in the suburbs of Saint Louis and Saint John. Many houses were destroyed by fire.

<sup>4</sup> This was probably on July 19 or 20 (see note 1). Under July 20, Montrossor says: "The Commander in Chief arrived at the Camp Montmorency and returned immediately to Point Levi, taking with him one engineer." This is referred to in other journals on the 19th.

<sup>5</sup> River Etchemin, on the south side nearly opposite the Cove, or Foulon.

<sup>6</sup> The Chaudière is on the south side opposite the village of St. Francis.

<sup>7</sup> Joseph Goreham was a native of New England. In 1749 he was given a commission in the Rangers commanded by his brother John Goreham. He rendered valuable service to the British at Louisbourg in 1758 and at Quebec in 1759. He obtained the rank of major in a British regiment in September, 1761. Extensive grants of land were made in his favour in Nova Scotia in 1765, but he impoverished himself in the service of the king, and in 1775 was pressed by creditors on all sides. In 1782 he was made lieutenant-governor of Newfoundland, and from 1783 was governor of Placentia. He died about 1790.

Goreham's Post was established in a large house on the south shore near the River Etchemin on July 20, 1759.

<sup>8</sup> This would be July 21.



for the purpose of washing, beating their clothes, linen, etc. Their stay was but short as they soon disappeared in the bush<sup>9</sup> and were afterwards seen at the top of the hill spreading and drying their clothes. Some Indians and Canadians likewise were seen but not in any number or in any shape on their guard.<sup>10</sup>

During my observations the General, ever watchful and anxious on his favorite scheme, appeared himself and informed of what had passed he seemed much pleased, and on our return to General Monckton's Camp<sup>11</sup> after much serious deliberation in his own mind, exclaimed, "Voilà mon cher Holland, ce sera ma Dernière Ressource mais il faut avant que mes autres projects travaillent, et manquent. Je vous parle en confidence; en attendant, il faut deguiser mon intention à qui que ce soit et tachez de faire croire l'impossibilité de monter."<sup>12</sup> I am of opinion that except Colonel, now Sir William Howe,<sup>13</sup> his confidants Majors Garwilliams<sup>14</sup> and Barry,<sup>15</sup> no other persons had knowledge of the secret until the evening of the 12th September,<sup>16</sup> the day prior to the landing, when only the principal Officers were acquainted with the plan, and so industrious had General Wolfe been to inculcate the impossibility of succeeding on any attempt on the Foulon that one Officer of note ridiculed the thought as impracticable. The information of

<sup>9</sup> The Indians were frequently seen in the woods at Sillery and in the vicinity of Vergor's Post at the Foulon.

<sup>10</sup> The Canadians would probably be the men at Vergor's Post, or at Samos battery.

<sup>11</sup> Monckton's camp was at Levi, between Point des Pères and Point Levi.

<sup>12</sup> Holland had served in the army in the Low Countries and probably understood French.

<sup>13</sup> The Hon. William Howe was lieutenant-colonel of the 58th Foot, with the rank of colonel in America. He was appointed colonel of the 46th Regiment in 1764.

<sup>14</sup> This name does not appear in the Army List, either before or after the siege of Quebec. It may be a mistake on the part of the copyist, or bad spelling on the part of Holland. The name should, I think, be Gwillem, referred to in journals as Guillem, Gwilliam, or Gwilliem. Thomas Gwillem was appointed a captain of the 47th Regiment of Foot, on May 2, 1751. In Wolfe's orders, Halifax, May 4, 1759, Captain Gwillem is appointed major of brigade, and he is given as of the 47th Regiment. His family residence was at Old Court, Herefordshire, where the Gwillems had long been prominent amongst the country gentry. His daughter Elizabeth married John Graves Simcoe, afterwards first lieutenant-governor of Upper Canada.

<sup>15</sup> Isaac Barré, son of a French refugee from LaRochelle, was born in Dublin in 1726. He was a graduate of Trinity College, Dublin, and entered the army as an ensign in 1746. He was appointed major of brigade with Gwillem. By his will Wolfe left Barré one hundred guineas to buy a ring and sword in memory of his friend.

<sup>16</sup> On September 12, 1759, the Brigadiers Monckton, Townshend, and Murray wrote to Wolfe asking what were his plans for the next day, as they could not find out from the public orders. On the 10th Townshend wrote: "By some intelligence the General has had he has changed his mind as to the place he intended to land."

deserters<sup>17</sup> who had given out strong fortifications and barricades well guarded on the hill contributed much to assist the deceit, as they little conceived the General's design, which so happily succeeded of landing 1,000 yards below the Cove and attacking the Guard in rear, could be carried into execution.

But to cover the grand object many other manoeuvres had been practised, and Brigadier General Murray, shortly after the establishment of Goreham's Post, ordered with a Detachment consisting of the 15th Regiment, the third Battalion of 60th Regiment, a Corps of Marines and some Light Infantry to encamp opposite Pointe au Trembles<sup>18</sup> which drew Monsieur Bougainville from the Main French Army with a strong Corps to watch his motions,<sup>19</sup> and who repulsed two attempts of Mr. Murray's (whose Engineer I was on this occasion) to land at Pointe au Tremble. A landing however had been effected some time before<sup>20</sup> at this place which answered the desired purpose, that of gaining intelligence and conciliating the minds of the Canadians whom the French had industriously prepossessed with ideas of the English being [nothing] more than savages.

At Dechambeault<sup>21</sup> Brigadier Murray had better success as we burnt and destroyed the French Regulars Regimental stores. We returned that day to our Camp, where the Marines had been left to defend two Redoubts that covered it.

<sup>17</sup> Townshend wrote on the 10th: "Heard that we had some deserters from the enemy's camp at Beauport. They came over to the Island of Orleans."

<sup>18</sup> Pointe aux Trembles, about twenty-two miles from Quebec on the north shore, opposite the village of St. Antoine. Murray made an unsuccessful attempt to land there on August 9. Wolfe expected Murray to return by the middle of August. On August 24 rockets were sent up from Goreham's post to attract his attention. Wolfe intended to make an attack on Quebec in August. On August 20, Wolfe wrote: "Murray, by his long stay above, and by detaining all our boats, is actually master of the operations, or rather puts an entire stop to them" (*Siege of Quebec*, vol. V, p. 68).

<sup>19</sup> "Different movements which the enemy were observed making in that quarter created an impression that it might be a design to attempt something more. M. de Montcalm determined to send a reinforcement thither, and so we found ourselves having between Quebec and Saint Augustine about 1000 men, whereof M. de Bougainville had the chief command." See Knox, *Journals* (Champlain Society), Vol. II, p. 13.

<sup>20</sup> Carleton had succeeded in landing there, and taking prisoners, between July 18 and 25, 1759.

<sup>21</sup> Early in August, Wolfe learned from a deserter that the French had valuable stores of provisions and clothing at Deschambault. On August 5 Murray was despatched there with 1200 troops, but in the meantime he made an attempt to land at Pointe aux Trembles. On August 18 he landed at some distance from Deschambault, and marched towards the storehouse and magazine, which he captured and destroyed. The stores were valued at 90,000 pounds. Cf. Doughty, *Siege of Quebec*, Vol. V, p. 181.

After this expedition I rejoined General Wolfe who the next day<sup>22</sup> made the attempt on the Redoubts at Montmorency. I never had any conversation with the General on this affair before the Action, but well remember as I was near him during the whole time his being much out of humour with Colonel Burton for advancing to the attack without waiting for positive orders<sup>23</sup> by which we lost several Grenadiers, as it appeared the General had only given positive orders to Captain Otherlong<sup>24</sup> and Wetherstrom,<sup>25</sup> with some Volunteers and Grenadiers of the

<sup>22</sup> Murray returned to Quebec from Deschambault on August 25. Holland seems to have referred to Murray's operations to show that it was a part of Wolfe's plan to divert the attention of the enemy from the real place of attack. By the context it would appear that "After this Expedition" refers to the visit to Goreham's Post, as the events follow in chronological order.

<sup>23</sup> Ralph Burton, lieutenant of the 48th Regiment, was in command of the grenadiers at Quebec. He was later appointed lieutenant-governor of Quebec, and under Murray became governor of Three Rivers. Wolfe seems to have had great regard for him. There does not appear to be any reference to complaints against Burton, who was wounded at Montmorency. Possibly the writer may have confused Carleton with Burton, as at this time the A.D.C. of Wolfe referred to "the abominable conduct of Colonel Carleton towards the general". Carleton seems to have criticized Wolfe over the affair at Montmorency. Wolfe reproved the grenadiers for their rash conduct on the occasion.

<sup>24</sup> David Ochterloney was born at Tillifroskie. He obtained a commission as lieutenant in the 60th Regiment in 1756, and was made captain in 1759. On July 30, 1759, he fought a duel with a German officer and received a severe wound under the right arm. On the 31st a portion of his regiment was ordered to the attack at Montmorency, and although he was urged to remain in camp, he insisted on going, claiming that his country could not suffer as a result of a private quarrel. During the engagement he was wounded in the lung, and his companion, Ensign Peyton, was wounded in the leg. When the order was given to retire, the Highlanders proposed to carry the wounded men off the field, but Ochterloney refused to leave. Towards evening two Indians and a French colonial officer passed by, and Ochterloney, speaking in French, offered to surrender. But the officer rifled his pockets, took his watch, and passed on. The Indians now attacked the two men, but Peyton crawled to where a double-barreled musket was lying, and shot one of the Indians dead. A fierce struggle ensued with the other Indian, but he was finally stabbed in the abdomen and succumbed. Peyton was later picked up at a distance by some Highlanders returning to camp. Here he recovered and was promoted. Ochterloney was found by a soldier of the Guyenne Regiment, who took him to the general hospital, where every care was taken of him by Madame de Ramezay. Wolfe sent £20 to the soldier of Guyenne, and wrote to Mme de Ramezay, saying that if fortune favoured his arms he would protect her and her community. The first act of Wolfe's successor, after taking possession of the city, was to place a strong guard around the hospital. Ochterloney died of his wounds, and his effects were returned to camp under a flag of truce. See Doughty, *Siege of Quebec*, Vol. II, pp. 159-162.

<sup>25</sup> This is evidently Gustav Wettstrom, appointed captain of the 60th Regiment, July 7, 1756. Murray refers to him as Watterstrom, and also as Wetterstrom. In the orders of November 5, 1759, six hatchet men are to be employed "in ripping up a

60th Regiment, to assault the Redoubt, which they carried with the loss of the gallant Captain Otherlong, to whose Company from being a Captain Lieutenant I was preferred.<sup>26</sup>

General Wolfe, foreseeing the issue, sent me to Brigadier General Townshend, who had forded the Montmorency and was pushing forward with orders to return to his Camp. We instantly complied. I returned with him as the route I had taken to meet him was rather too hot. Here ended the business, and our affairs by all hands were deemed irretrievable, at least for any formidable attempt. General Wolfe encouraged the opinion, his manoeuvres all serving to confirm it. He almost instantly struck his Camp at Orleans,<sup>27</sup> demolished his works at Montmorency, embarked his Artillery and sent Colonel Scott and Major Goreham down the south shore to burn and destroy,<sup>28</sup> by which not only our enemies but friends were led to believe that all this was done with an intention to make up for an unsuccessful Campaign, the town of Quebec being mostly burnt and ruined and country laid waste, to prevent which as much as possible Monsieur Bougainville was strongly reinforced at Point au Tremble.

By deserters and our own observations we learned that the French were thoroughly convinced we had relinquished all further serious design.<sup>29</sup> They in consequence allowed the Canadian Militia to repair home to gather in their harvests,<sup>30</sup> and the Indians and others on the Heights above Foulon likewise disappeared. General Wolfe's well conceived scheme was now ripe for execution and as masterly put in practise.

On the 12th Inst. our principal Force lay opposite Cape Rouge and St. Augustine<sup>31</sup> ready to come down with the ebb tide. Brigadier General Monckton with his Brigade had, during the night, marched over against Foulon ready to be taken off by the boats after the Light Infantry under

French ship of war on the stocks and are to be under the direction of Captain Westerstrome of the Royal Americans, who is appointed for that service, and to be excused all other duties".

<sup>26</sup> See note 42.

<sup>27</sup> The camp at Montmorency was evacuated on September 3, and Wolfe established his headquarters at Orleans.

<sup>28</sup> George Scott, captain of the 40th Regiment, 1751, major, 1758, lieutenant-colonel, 1761, was appointed to command the Light Infantry and Rangers at Quebec. He was sent on an expedition to lay waste the country on August 31, 1759.

<sup>29</sup> By deserters the English learned that the French generals suspected that Wolfe intended going higher up the river to lay waste the country.

<sup>30</sup> On August 23 an officer reported that the Canadians were beginning to reap their peas and barley (Knox, Vol. II, p. 41).

<sup>31</sup> The British had about 1600 men at St. Nicholas opposite St. Augustine on the 12th. They were in the ships during the day, and landed to refresh themselves at night.

Colonel Howe and the other two Brigades should have effected their landing. I that evening begged the favor of General Wolfe to allow me to accompany him in his boat, but he informed me that he had other business for me, commanding me to take two Carcassures or Gun Boats with sixty Marines and Sailors to make a false alarm at Sillery,<sup>32</sup> but not to begin till I heard the firing at Foulon. I accordingly executed his commands as far as in me lay, but had only time to make two discharges from my Twelve Pounders when I was run down and overset by a schooner. I escaped by swimming and lost a fuzee given me by our loved Commander, and which I deemed invaluable. Being towed on shore by an Artillery Boat I joined the Army at Foulon, who had happily by this time made their landing good.<sup>33</sup> I here saw Monsieur Vergore<sup>34</sup> the Commander of the French Post, who railed bitterly at *Les Diables D'Anglois* for attacking his Rear, which he had conceived impossible. He often afterwards at Quebec repeated to me his surprise at the undertaking.

I was immediately employed filling up the Trench across the road, but was by Major Garwilliams called off to come to General Wolfe, with whom I went to reconnoitre the ground and marched from the spot I had the honor of pointing out to you where we had first joined to the field of action where the battle was fought. The General took his station on the eminence now called Wolfe's Hill,<sup>35</sup> where he received his death wound within a yard or two of the spot where I fixed the most southerly stone for the Meridian<sup>36</sup> Line, the General constantly wearing a black crape<sup>37</sup> it was imagined was known thereby. From what I could learn a Canadian boy from Jacques Carthier was the person who fired the fatal shot.<sup>38</sup>

A few minutes before the battle commenced I was called by Major Garwilliam to the left, where with the Grenadier Company of the 60th I had been posted near a small barn to keep a fire on the Canadians who out-flanked us. On my coming to the General I was ordered to get 60 men from Colonel Burton to erect a redoubt on the left, finding whilst I was preparing to carry his orders into effect that the French

<sup>32</sup> This, no doubt, was to surprise the enemy and give the appearance of more than one landing force.

<sup>33</sup> The landing was effected about four in the morning of September 13.

<sup>34</sup> Vergor was in command of the post on the summit of the Foulon or Wolfe's Cove.

<sup>35</sup> Wolfe's Hill now the site of Quebec gaol.

<sup>36</sup> There is a plan extant by Holland showing the meridian stone.

<sup>37</sup> Wolfe was in mourning, and it is said that he wore a new uniform on the morning of the battle.

<sup>38</sup> This would be one of the militia.

were advancing fast, and that the fire on their part was becoming brisk, I found the impossibility of throwing up the intended works, and returning to the General to mention the same, found him mortally wounded and being carried off the field by a Mr. Brown of the 28th Regiment<sup>39</sup> and a Grenadier of the same.<sup>40</sup>

<sup>39</sup> Knox (Vol. II, p. 114) says "the foregoing circumstances were ascertained to me by Lieut. Brown of the Grenadiers of Louisbourg and the 22nd Regiment, who, with Mr. Henderson a volunteer in the same company", etc. Henderson, however, did not belong to the 22nd Regiment, but to the 28th, as shown by the Army list. Therefore it is possible that Lieutenant Francis Brown of the 28th Regiment may have been the man who supplied Knox with this information. The Louisbourg Grenadiers and the 28th Regiment were side by side on the morning of September 13, and shortly before the battle Wolfe advanced "some platoons from the Grenadiers and the 28th Regiment between the height on our right to prevent their getting around the declivity between us and the main river". This would be in the vicinity of Wolfe's Hill, the place where Wolfe fell.

In a recent article in the *CANADIAN HISTORICAL REVIEW* (September, 1922), it is stated that Knox obtained his information from Henry Brown and James Henderson. Knox does not say this. He says simply "Lieutenant Brown of the Grenadiers of Louisbourg and the 22nd Regiment, with Mr. Henderson, a volunteer in the same company". Holland is quite clear. He says: "Mr. Brown of the 28th Regiment and a grenadier of the same."

Knox remained in Canada a year after the war, but he did not publish his work until 1769. Holland remained in the country, kept a journal, and frequently went over the scene of the battle. Knox was not an eye-witness. We have no evidence of the date when Knox received his information; apparently it was not at this time, for he says: "Various accounts have been circulated of General Wolfe's manner of dying, his last words, and the officers into whose hands he fell; and many from a vanity of talking, claimed the honour of being his supporters, after he was wounded", etc. This passage was possibly written much later, after all the evidence had been sifted. Now we have a statement from a Henry Brown and a James Henderson. Henry Brown, in a letter dated Louisbourg, November 17, 1759, says: "I gave you as distinct an account as I could of our action on the 13th of September and of the taking of the town of Quebec. I must add a little to it by informing you that I was the person who carried General Wolfe off the field, and that he was wounded as he stood within a foot of me. The General did our Company the honour to lead us in person, as he said he could depend upon our behaviour. . . . The poor General after I had his wounds dressed died in my arms."

It seems somewhat singular that these interesting details were not included in the previous accounts of the action of the 13th. Henderson, however, when writing to his uncle pays little attention to the battle and seems to wish to convey the impression that he was on peculiarly friendly terms with the general:

"The General viewing the position of the two armies took notice of a small rising ground between our right and the enemy's left [that would be to the west of Wolfe's Hill] which concealed us from that quarter—upon which the General did me the honour to detach me with a few grenadiers to take possession of that ground and maintain it to the last extremity, which I did till both armies was engaged. And then the General came to me and took his post by me.—But, oh! how can I tell you, my dear Sir—tears



At the sight of our gallant General thus torn from us in the moment of victory my feelings were overpowered. I endeavoured to console him but alas, he was never to speak again. I assisted in supporting his wounded arm whilst we brought him down the hill to the right of the 48th Regiment, when a Mr. Treat<sup>41</sup> the Surgeon's Mate of that Regiment, the only medical person who appeared, endeavoured to afford assistance, but in vain. The dear General with an anxious, wishful look continued his eye fixed on the field of battle. On a wounded Grenadier's coming towards us and crying out the French run he was near his last moments, and on my repeating it he closed his eyes and breathed his last without a groan.

From the time I came to him he never uttered a single syllable, nor were any other persons present during this melancholy scene than those I mention. His body was conveyed directly to the water side. I repaired instantly to General Monckton who, wounded himself, could not take the Command which devolved on General Townshend, under whose orders I threw up the works our late Commander had desired.

flow from my eyes as I write—that great and ever memorable man whose loss can never be enough regretted was scarce a moment with me when he received his fatal wound. I myself received at the same time two wounds—for I was close by him—one in the right shoulder and one in the thigh—but my concern for him was so great that I did not at that time think of them. When the General received the shot I caught hold of him and carried him off the field. He walked about one hundred yards [this we presume was after he was carried] and then begged I would let him sit down which I did; then I opened his breast and found his shirt full of blood at which he smiled, and when he seen the distress I was in 'My dear,' said he, 'don't grieve for me I shall be happy in a few minutes—take care of yourself as I see you are wounded,—but tell me, tell me how goes the battle there?' Just then came some officers who told him that the French had given ground and that our troops were pursuing them to the walls of the town. He was then lying in my arms fast expiring. That great man whose sole ambition was his country's glory raised himself up on this news and smiled in my face."

It seems fairly well established that James Henderson of the 28th was present, as, twelve days after, he received a commission in the 28th Regiment. But whether Wolfe died in his arms is perhaps questionable. According to the *Quebec Gazette* of July 11, 1815, Wolfe died in the arms of Dr. Wilkins. It is also declared that Dr. Tudor attended him in his last moments, and in West's picture Dr. Adair is attending him. Another authority claims that "his head fell upon Ligonier's bosom, and he expired without a struggle".

In the picture of the Death of Wolfe by Barry, five persons are present. This agrees with the number mentioned by Holland.

The clearest and most direct statement we have seen is that contained in this letter of Samuel Holland.

<sup>40</sup> James Henderson, ensign, 28th Regiment, September 25, 1759.

<sup>41</sup> Only the names of the surgeons are given in the Army Lists. Therefore, we have been unable to trace the surgeon's mate, Mr. Treat.



In his death the Nation and myself in particular sustained an irreparable loss, as he had honored me with his patronage and warmly espoused my interests. It is needless for me to enter into his panegyric; the world is well acquainted with his great qualities, suffice it to say his private virtues were equal to his public—good and great. Consummate judgment and profound wisdom united to bravery, skill and integrity with indefatigable perseverance were prominent features in his character, which I here close with assuring you that no eulogium of mine can sufficiently paint or extol his brilliant talents; and if in complying with Your Excellency's request I have entered into extraneous matter, or been too prolix I make no doubt of your indulgence as being brought up in the Professional line, and having ably distinguished yourself with an ardour and ability which merited that honor so justly conferred on you, I will therefore make no apology for an old soldier's style or warmth on a favorite theme, but subscribe myself with the most profound regard,

Your Excellency's well wisher and  
most obedient humble servant,

SAMUEL HOLLAND<sup>42</sup>

His Excellency Lieutenant Governor Simcoe.

<sup>42</sup> Samuel Holland, or Hollandt, as his name appears in the Army List, was born in Holland in 1728. He joined an artillery corps in the army of the Low Countries when fifteen years of age. He was a lieutenant in that army when, in 1749, he married Gertrude Hasse, at Nimeguen. In 1755, he went to England and obtained a commission as lieutenant in the 60th Foot. Promoted a captain-lieutenant on May 21, 1757, he became a captain in August, 1759.

Holland took part in the expedition against Louisbourg in 1758, and in that against Quebec the following year. He was personally known to Wolfe, who on many occasions had recourse to his knowledge as an engineer.

Murray employed him as assistant engineer at Quebec, and ordered him to make the topographical survey of the town, and recommended him as a brave officer and an intelligent engineer, deserving a promotion.

Holland was appointed a member of Murray's first council, August 13, 1764. He had been appointed surveyor-general of lands "of the Colonies north of Virginia", on March 6 preceding. His early operations as surveyor-general were those he made and directed from 1764 to 1769, in the Maritime provinces and in Gaspé. He had three parties at work, besides that which he directed in person in Cape Breton. They surveyed the coasts of the Gulf and the River St. Lawrence, with a view of preparing a general map of the province of Quebec.

Major Holland (he had been promoted to this rank in 1776) was for nearly half a century surveyor-general of the province of Quebec and of Lower Canada, and a member of the different Councils, both Executive and Legislative. He died on December 27, 1801, in the seventy-fourth year of his age.

Although his first wife was still living, and no divorce had been obtained, Holland married, in Quebec, Marie Josephite, daughter of François Rolette.

## REVIEWS OF BOOKS

*Report of the Public Archives for the Year 1921.* By ARTHUR G. DOUGHTY.

Printed by Order of Parliament. Ottawa: 1922. Pp. 408. (30c.)

THE Report of the Public Archives for the year 1921 has abundant interest, particularly in respect to the French period in Canada and to the latter half of the eighteenth century. The new maps, and the many transcripts from the French archives, and from various sources in Quebec, should lead to more work in this neglected field. The British transcripts look promising. All the volumes from the Public Record Office which are directly labelled "Quebec" or "Canada" have been copied, and the object now is to select from volumes which contain the records of general administrative departments those pieces which refer to the history of Canada. The full value of this can only be realized by those who know that the British calendars of the Colonial Office Records and the State Papers Foreign are still at a comparatively early stage, and that except these transcripts there is no indication whether or not the volumes contain documents which refer to Canada. The collections of military documents in C.O. 5/103-108, which contain the despatches of the commander-in-chief, with many enclosures from subordinate commanders and other correspondents, complete a group of sources hitherto little used. May we hope soon to have the equally valuable series of despatches from the Superintendent of Indian Affairs? The early history of the West and the fur-trade is closely related to that of Quebec, and these two great series would co-ordinate the more scattered American information. The Chatham papers are disappointing to one who looks in them for direct statements upon colonial policy, for the great man was too reticent to commit general policies to writing, but there are several papers which indicate his interest in the American colonies, and in the conquest of Canada as the only means of assuring their unimpeded development. The Hardwicke papers from the British Museum provide new information about the revenue and trade of Canada and its legal affairs, gathered together by the first Lord Hardwicke, Charles Yorke, and Fowler Walker. The most interesting thing is a complete copy of Governor Murray's Report of June 5, 1762, with its enclosures,—a copy which

is obviously more correct than the one which was printed in the *Canadian Constitutional Documents*. The original report has disappeared, but the copy in B.M. Addit. MSS. 35913 can at least show figures which give the totals at the bottom of the columns! Only one general criticism of the work of the Public Archives occurs, and it is the result of hard experience: would it not be possible in the calendars of these transcripts to preserve some note of the paging of the British papers from which the copies were taken? This inconvenience of reference is the only hindrance to students who wish to use the Canadian calendars as guides to the original collections.

The documents and calendars printed in the appendices fall almost entirely within the period 1763-1815. The proclamations of the governors of Lower Canada, 1792-1815, are mostly formal notices of the prorogation or dissolution of the legislature. There is some significant information upon the administration of the Crown lands, and there are several proclamations dealing with the beginnings of trade with the United States.

The calendar of the Shelburne correspondence is timely, since not only the Canadian transcripts but the originals have now come to this continent. It is to be hoped that this, the most valuable private collection of documents for British and colonial history at the end of the eighteenth century, will be made accessible to students. Shelburne copied many public documents: in some cases, as in that of the secret correspondence between Viry and Solar about the later negotiations for the treaty of 1763, his copies are the only surviving source of information. He also added many reports which he received from correspondents in the colonies and in England. His papers, and the State Papers Foreign, France, would supplement the Colonial Office documents to make a complete history of the Canada Bills, which first attracted British mercantile interest to the colony. The great advantage of the collection is that it weaves together strands from foreign and colonial politics. Volumes 48 and 49 appear to contain important information about the intention of the Proclamation of October 7, 1763. The "Canada Committee" (London merchants interested in the trade to Canada), Maurice Morgann, and the ex-Jesuit Roubaud are the most interesting correspondents in the later volumes; and western trade in the years 1766-1767 and the boundaries of 1783 are the most important general topics. The letters to Lord Shelburne (printed in Appendix E) from the honest, verbose, somewhat irascible Governor Parr, reveal some of the difficulties over the settlement of Loyalists in the Maritime provinces.

Appendix D contains the calendar of an additional series of incoming letters and reports read at the Board of Trade. They are invaluable

in the years 1763-1768, when that body usually determined colonial policy. The series is only completely intelligible when it is used in conjunction with the minutes of the Board of Trade, C.O. 391/70 ff. Roubaud is here again a frequent, if not a trustworthy, correspondent. The scheme for a general invasion of the English colonies by the Indians (C.O. 42/13), alleged to have been drawn up by Montcalm, is one of Roubaud's most amazing forgeries.

One of the most interesting parts of the report is to be found in the pages in which the manuscript division of the Archives reports on the transcripts made and the new material acquired between January 1, 1919, and December 31, 1921. From Canadian sources a great deal of interesting material would appear to have been gathered. Among other items one notices collections of the papers of Sir Louis Lafontaine, of Dalton McCarthy, of Sir Sanford Fleming, and of Sir Mackenzie Bowell. Twenty-four volumes of the Simcoe papers have come to the Archives by bequest from the estate of the late Mr. John Ross Robertson, and a large number of the muster rolls of the Loyalist units in the War of the American Revolution have been acquired, many of which will be of great value from a genealogical point of view.

The report is well printed, and in this respect it must be said that there has been a great improvement of recent years in the publications of the Dominion Archives.

*Zum ersten Kolonisationsversuch Frankreichs in Kanada.* VON PROFESSOR HASENCLEVER (*Weltwirtschaftliches Archiv*, Fischer, Jena, Vol. 18, 1922, pp. 558-570).

THIS essay is mainly based in its first part on Herr Hüpke's publication in the *Hänische Geschichtsblätter* (Vol. 17, 1911), and aims at a re-interpretation of facts dealt with in familiar sources. Firstly, it deals with the relations between Cartier and Roberval. It is true that Cartier was appointed "capitaine général" by Francis I (1540), but Roberval was not Cartier's subordinate, as Herr Hüpke gathers from the document he discovered in Vienna. It was only on January 15, 1541, that Roberval displaced Cartier as leader of a more ambitious scheme, and Cartier became *de jure* Roberval's subordinate. Secondly, Professor Hasenclever dispels the myth (if it needed dispelling) of Clément Marot being chosen as leader (*Letters & Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII*, London, 1898, No. 488). Thirdly, he discusses Roberval's tardy departure, due to his privateering depredations off the French coast, and the general failure of the expedition. On page 562 the year 1557 is given as the date of Roberval's death, but this did not occur till 1560, or perhaps 1561. Finally, Professor Hasenclever does full justice to Cartier as

an explorer, and to Roberval as one who early recognized the economic importance of New France. The main merit of this interesting monograph is that it is one of the first historical essays in Germany on the subject, and will doubtlessly inspire further interest there in a long neglected branch of historical studies. But new ground has not been broken for the English-speaking world.

L. HAMILTON

*Les petites choses de notre histoire.* Par PIERRE-GEORGES ROY. Troisième série. Lévis. 1922. Pp. 304. Quatrième série. Lévis. 1922. Pp. 304.

IN the first volume of this REVIEW (p. 205), there were noticed the first two series of this collection of historical papers. The volumes now under review (the third and fourth series) are of the same character as their predecessors. They consist of a large number of brief papers on obscure and sometimes trivial points in Canadian history—or rather in the history of French Canada—mainly reprinted from the *Bulletin des recherches historiques* and other French-Canadian periodicals.

To give any full idea of the contents of the volumes would tax the ingenuity of any reviewer. The papers stretch in point of time from the first beginnings of French rule in Canada to the régime of Sir Wilfrid Laurier, and they cover subjects of all kinds, from "Les Pères de la Confédération" to such a weighty problem as "M. Bourdon de Dambourg, fut-il anobli?" Was Mgr de Pontbriand present at the death of Montcalm? Did the councillors of the Sovereign Council wear scarlet robes? Where was the Brigadier Senéergues buried? Was General Fremont a French-Canadian? Was M. de Lespinay, the governor of Louisiana, of Canadian origin? These are a few of the questions which M. Roy propounds and answers.

If some of M. Roy's *petites choses* seem very small indeed, it is only fair to add that they represent a wealth of learning and a patience of research which are beyond praise. No doubt many of the knots which M. Roy has untied would have bothered many writers on Canadian history, if they were called on to untie them themselves. The only trouble with M. Roy's volumes is that they lack an index of the proper sort. The "Table des matières" at the end of each volume is useful, but it is not enough. Might we suggest to M. Roy, if he intends to continue the publication of these papers, that he should render his work more easily available to scholars by the inclusion in the last volume of a really exhaustive index?

In the meantime, there will be few students of Canadian history who will not find in these volumes a mine of curious and interesting lore.

W. S. WALLACE

*The Causes of the War of Independence, Being the First Volume of the History of the Founding of the American Republic.* By CLAUDE H.

VAN TYNE. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1922. Pp. x, 499.

WRITERS in the United States find the American Revolution an exhaustless theme, while those in England tend to leave it severely alone. Americans remember the Revolution because from it came the republic which has had a development so amazing; Englishmen try to forget the most unhappy episode in their history. Few Englishmen besides Sir George Trevelyan have dealt with it adequately. Some forty years ago, however, appeared Lecky's history of the eighteenth century, showing complete detachment of mind in regard to the Revolution. For some twenty years still, writings in the United States on the subject were tinged by the assumption that monarchy and tyranny always go hand in hand, and that during the Revolution, in deep malignancy, Britain violated every canon of humanity and decency. This spirit pervades the popular book on the Revolution of even so philosophic a writer as John Fiske. But this phase is past. The spirit of scientific detachment is in recent American writings, and foremost in this school of thought is Professor Van Tyne, of the University of Michigan. Twenty years ago he published a useful book on the Loyalists, and the present work is the crowning effort of a quarter of a century of study.

The whole course of the founding of the republic is to be covered in three volumes, ending, of course, in the setting up in 1789 of the present constitution. This first volume reciting the causes of the Revolution contains eighteen chapters closely connected in logical relation. We begin with the conditions in America which bred Independence, and then pass to those in England which led to a world-wide empire, a great debt, and the resolve that the colonies should share the burden of defence. After gropings for solution we have the Stamp Act, followed by an outburst of anger in America which astonished England and led to the repeal of the Act. By this time it was clear that American political thought, which challenged the theory of the omnicompetence of parliament in colonial affairs, was advancing on lines of its own. Professor Van Tyne shows that the colonists regarded their charters as sacred, and not to be altered by parliament. Behind the charters, really written constitutions, were ultimate human rights superior to any Act of parliament. Not unnaturally England, the parent state, was not ready to change her outlook to suit that of new colonies. Only delicate tact and insight could have healed the breach, and they were wanting on both sides. Townshend's tax on tea was a brazen defiance of colonial opinion. At once the two peoples were seen to be far apart in social conditions and intellectual views. There followed angry debate, the



Boston "Tea-Party", North's arrogant disciplining of Boston, the union of all the colonies in a Continental Congress to carry out a common policy of resistance, and in 1775 the beginning of bloodshed in the fight at Lexington. The last chapter is headed, "The Freest of Peoples were the First to Rebel". Revolutions do not come from decadent peoples, a truth which France was soon to illustrate to the world.

The colonies had electoral systems developed with some regard to logical coherence. Britain had nothing of the kind. In the counties, indeed, there was some plan in the representation, for each county had two members (Yorkshire, the exception, had four), and practically all landowners had a vote. It was in the boroughs that the anomalies were glaring. Deserted villages sent two members to parliament; Manchester and Birmingham sent none. When the Americans talked of "No Taxation without Representation", it was to claim something which did not exist in England, and England's retort was that she was not going to change at the insolent demand of her colonies her application of principles century old. Land, trade, and manufactures all had voices in parliament to speak for them, and if with this Manchester was content, why not Boston? Waiving the question whether Manchester was content, we note that those who asked the question forgot three thousand miles of sea, forgot the habit of mind of the colonies which looked to their own legislatures, and to them alone, for direct authority in respect to government, forgot that infant colonies had now grown up to a sensitive assertion of their rights and dignity. No doubt colonial opinion was illogical. Navigation Acts, regulating trade with foreign countries, Acts forbidding certain manufactures in the colonies, showed the direct interference of parliament in colonial affairs; but, as Mr. Goldwin Smith put it, "sage diplomacy fortified by prayer and fasting" could get round these Acts. The Puritan conscience took little account of smuggling as sin. America never had been, and never could be, vitally controlled by England. England forgot this. Revolution brought a rude awakening.

It is an old story with here nothing very new in the telling of it, except the resolve to be fair to the British side. While the author has studied manuscript sources, the authorities cited are chiefly secondary and range from monographs to text-books. It must be said that the narrative lacks vividness. The telling phrases are mostly in the quotations. When Professor Van Tyne speaks of "The American Spirit", he means the working of that ultimate instinct in men which claims liberty and resents outside control. The use of the phrase indicates a certain habit of thought, widespread in the United States, based on an unconscious assumption that political liberty is the peculiar product of that country. There is, in truth, in such a sense no American spirit, any more



than there is a French or an Australian or a South-African spirit. Liberty is a human aspiration, and so long as it is assumed that its home is in the United States, so long will that country attract derisive remarks about its mob spirit, as seen in the numerous lynchings, its Ku Klux Klan, and its rather crude suppression of liberty of speech and action in connection with labour difficulties. It can hardly be doubted that during the Revolution opinion in England was freer than it was in the colonies. Not only in parliament, where speech was privileged, but in public gatherings, the justice of the colonial cause was praised. Samuel Curwen, an exiled Loyalist, heard in Exeter a sermon by Canon Barlow, in which the preacher said that God would bless the Americans because they were a religious people and punish the English because they were not. In most of the liberty-loving colonies such a public utterance would probably have involved a night raid on the parson's house and possibly for himself a coat of tar and feathers. If there was an American spirit, it was not always a spirit of liberty.

Now that the old passions are dead, at least among the educated, we are tempted to ask whether the American war might have had any other ending than that of complete separation. One northern state, Massachusetts, and one southern state, Virginia, were apparently irreconcilable. It may be that, had military events been favourable, some of the colonies would have preferred the old union. France would probably have made no objection to seeing the colonies divided. She did not wish them to be very strong. The condition of compromise was the checking of the demagogue in America and the chastening of arrogance, royal and also parliamentary, in England. The Loyalists rebuked the one in America, the Whigs the other in England. The chief cause of the Revolution was that, for the time, self-seeking and pride, as so often in human affairs, silenced reason. It was not impossible that the United States should have become independent without revolution. Canada is practically independent, and yet retains those links of sentiment which in the day of need are strong to meet common sacrifice. Professor Van Tyne gives Britain's side a fair statement. Good men believed that her cause was just. If they were mistaken, they were at any rate honest.

This plea does not, of course, mean that Britain was right and the colonies were wrong. The reverse was the case. Moralists have found in the defeat of Britain in the American Revolution proof of the vindication of ethical law in secular affairs. It was the only war during three hundred years which Britain lost unmistakably, and it was the only one in which she was thoroughly in the wrong. She was arrogant and exacting in her tone to the colonies, and not above the petty malice shown by Wedderburn in his diatribes against Franklin before a com-

mittee of the Privy Council. Her masses were so coarse and brutal in their mode of life that exiled Loyalists thought England an almost savage country. At the other pole was the pomp of the rich, so absorbing in its luxury that rivalry in magnificence became the chief preoccupation of great families. The talk in London was so much of "our" possessions, "our" colonies, "our" subjects, that it enraged even the calm Franklin and caused almost the hope, while he was still an ardent Briton, that such pride would have a fall. By the appeal to arms both England and America suffered. The British Empire broke in two. What the United States lost was beyond recovery. It was the continued tradition with the past of its English people. They created a new state, they wrote a new constitution. No doubt to its admirers it is the chief glory of the nation. But outsiders are not blinded by this affection for a noble instrument which is, none the less, gravely defective. They see in its hard rigidity shackles binding a great people. To-day the United States would be playing a greater part in the world if it had grown into a free nation under a flexible tradition based on a long past, rather than under the balanced clauses of an instrument of government.

GEORGE M. WRONG

*Land Settlement in Upper Canada, 1783-1840.* By G. C. PATERSON.  
Toronto: The King's Printer. 1922. Pp. xvii, 278.

THIS work is published as the "sixteenth report of the department of Archives for the Province of Ontario", and according to the introduction (p. xvii), written by the provincial archivist, was presented as a thesis leading to the degree of Master of Arts in the University of Toronto.

The main portion of the work has been the result of consistent and thorough search through official material relating to the subject. Reference has been carefully made in footnotes, useful maps are included, interesting statistics are presented in the appendix and throughout the book, and the whole is adequately indexed. Whoever interests himself in the land policy of Canada will find the volume invaluable.

From a publication of the character described, perhaps one should expect nothing more, but in view of the amount of work done in the search for material it is regrettable that the author does not give a more thorough analysis of the facts presented. The subject is of vital importance in a study of Canadian development and is inextricably bound up with the whole economic, social, and political background not only of Canada but also of Great Britain and the United States. And yet, in general, comparatively slight attention is given to the inter-related factors suggested in this fact. The constitutional and political sketch which precedes the main body of the work is largely a compilation

of card-indexed material chronologically arranged. Little attempt is made to estimate the significance of the facts, and consequently much is included which might be omitted or better relegated to footnotes. Contributing to this lack of perspective, footnotes as references to important and interesting primary unofficial material are generally few. The conclusions given reveal the effects of this treatment. The policy of land settlement in the period covered has been appraised according to the ideal standard suggested to Lord Durham by Buller (p. 236). Elements of the policy have been described as "unfortunate", "often needless and always foolish", and the like. Admittedly these appraisals are typical as statements of the historical school, but they are none the less unscientific. They are as much a result of the author's individualistic approach as of the phenomena discussed. The lack of an impersonal, scientific, and objective approach combined with the absence of perspective and analysis renders the conclusions largely of a speculative character.

Finally, defects which exist through a lack of careful analysis become more serious in consequence of the auspices under which the work is published. To these auspices one is tempted to attribute the existence of silhouettes and signatures scattered throughout the pages. The value of chirographic specimens as facts essential to the study of economic history is generally regarded as questionable. More obviously, the same auspices are responsible for the rambling, unscientific, and useless introduction.

The hope is expressed that the work may be brought out in another form which will afford opportunity for the statement of conclusions based on a more careful analysis of valid facts already presented, and under auspices which will ensure that its appearance befits a scientific work on an important subject.

HAROLD G. INNIS

*Collections of the Nova Scotia Historical Society.* Volume XX. Halifax, N.S. 1921. Pp. xl, 183.

Of the six papers included in this volume three are biographical. Simon Bradstreet Robie (1770-1850) was the son of a Boston Loyalist. He was at various times solicitor-general, speaker of the House of Assembly, Master of the Rolls, and president of the Executive and Legislative Councils. The paper is a mere sketch. So also is the account of Chief Justice Macdonald (1828-1912). More important is the history of Sir John Wentworth by the late Sir Adams Archibald. It is illustrated by an authentic portrait, the original of which by Robert Field hangs in Government House, Halifax. Wentworth reigned during the Duke of

Kent's appointment as commander of the forces. A really careful and authoritative statement regarding Halifax currency is contributed by a Halifax banker. Mr. Mullane supplies interesting data regarding Nova Scotia privateers in the Seven Years' War and the American Revolution: and the president of the Society, Major J. P. Edwards, sketches the sources of Canadian history.

Amateurishness is more or less inevitable in all such publications; scientific accuracy is hardly to be hoped for. This volume is disfigured by many misprints. Even the brief and well-known quotation from Howe on the title page contains three errors.

A. MACMECHAN

*History of Oregon.* By CHARLES HENRY CAREY. Chicago: The Pioneer Historical Publishing Company. 1922. Pp. xxviii, 1016.

THE history of Oregon is a very difficult subject to treat in proper perspective. This arises from its breadth, materially and geographically. The name "Oregon" is applied to at least three geographical entities: the Old Oregon Territory, stretching from 42° northward, the Oregon Territory after 1846, and the State of Oregon. Its history includes the consideration of the Spanish voyages, the maritime fur-trade, the Nootka Convention, the voyages of Mackenzie, Fraser, Thompson, Lewis and Clark, the Astoria venture, the work of the North West Company and of the Hudson's Bay Company, the great immigrations, and the Oregon Question, over and above the matters that relate to the period subsequent to 1846.

Taken as a whole, and considering the vastness of the subject, Mr. Carey has produced a very creditable piece of work. Even the most cursory examination reveals the breadth of reading and research upon which it is founded. The footnotes are particularly valuable; they contain a wealth of historical material and of references to sources.

The first four hundred pages covering the events prior to 1846 are the portion which is of particular interest to Canadians. Up to that point the history of the Northwest Coast is one and indivisible. The opening chapters describe comprehensively and accurately the gradual extension of geographical knowledge of the coast, and trace the story through the voyage of Sir Francis Drake and the cartography of theoretic geographers down to the time when the Spaniards are seen making their way slowly northward from Mexico. Every page of these chapters bears evidence of much careful study. Captain Cook's epoch-making voyage, which disclosed to the world the riches of the coast in furs and skins, is, however, disposed of in four pages. The maritime fur-trade is not drawn in sufficient detail: into eight pages are crowded the tragic

story of Bering, of proud Baranof in his mist-enshrouded domain, of La Pérouse's disastrous voyage, and a sketch of the early fur-traders, Hanna, Lowrie and Guise, Barkley, Portlock and Dixon, Duncan and Colnett, and Meares. To Meares alone our author allots four of the eight pages. He is of the opinion that Meares's "very readable narrative is in accordance with the facts". We venture to think, nevertheless, that this view will not meet with the approval of other students of history.

The seizure of Meares's vessels in 1789, the Spanish Armament, the diplomatic discussions thereanent, the Nootka Convention and its results, are all dealt with in five pages. Inasmuch as the Nootka Convention bulked large in the arguments on the Oregon Question it would have been more satisfactory to have had its terms and their effects considered *in extenso*. Vancouver's exploratory work is fairly well summarized, but his diplomatic efforts receive scant attention. To this chapter is tacked a paragraph dealing with the loss of the *Boston* in 1803. Why this jump of ten years should have been made, without any reference to the development of the maritime fur-trade, then at full flood, and why in the next chapter the narrative should jump back ten or twenty years, is not quite clear. Two chapters are devoted to the voyages of the *Columbia*; but not a word is written of the important work carried on by her successors, the Boston traders, as they sailed up and down the coast of Oregon in full possession of the fur-trade, or hunted the fur-seal and the sea-otter on the adjacent and forbidden coast of California.

Soon our author is on more familiar ground, and three chapters follow devoted to the genesis and the operations of the Lewis and Clark expedition. The result, however, is to throw that section out of perspective. The Winships' and Astor's ill-fated undertakings obtain more than their due position. David Thompson's wonderful work is tucked away ignominiously into three or four scattered paragraphs and a few short footnotes; Sacajawea gets almost as much attention. From this point the story is centred on the *Columbia*. Here our author's work leaves nothing to be desired. He is most at home in discussing the Oregon Question. He has worked up much of the diplomatic correspondence, sorting, arranging, and digesting it in a masterly way; as a result this subject, which usually constitutes a dry-as-dust chapter, is transformed into a very readable and illuminating one, albeit with but little attention to the British side of the dispute.

It is not to be expected that such a voluminous work treating of so many matters and stretching over such a large geographical area could be produced without some small errors. A few of these are doubtless

typographical: as, for instance, "Maquina" for Maquinna, "Ranier" for Rainier, "Galliano" for Galiano, and "Mexicano" for Mexicana. Again, "Nootka Bay" for Nootka Sound, Marchand's voyage "in 1790" for 1791, and Meares's vessel "*North West*" for *North West America*, are probably mere slips of the pen. Others can not, however, be so explained. On page 135, in dealing with the first voyage of the *Columbia* and the *Washington*, it is stated that the latter vessel reached Clayoquot Sound on August 16, 1788, and that Captain Kendrick's son (presumably Solomon) was killed about this time. The facts are that the *Washington* reached Nootka Sound on September 16, 1788, and that Captain Kendrick's son was killed by the Indians of Queen Charlotte Islands when they captured the tender of the *Jefferson* in 1793. Attoo, who is spoken of as a Hawaiian prince (p. 139), was, as the Barrell papers show, a cabin boy on the second voyage of the *Columbia*; and he was flogged for his misconduct like any other plebeian. The statement on page 271 that the trading goods for the Columbia River forts were brought overland from Fort William is inaccurate. The Columbia region always received its supplies by vessel from England (see Hudson's Bay Company's Correspondence, part ii, p. 10, Ottawa, 1899). It was only the express that was sent overland to and from the Columbia River. The constant use of "indian" for "Indian" is unusual, to say the least. But in a work of such a size, which has been generally so well done, it would be ungracious to catalogue these trivial mistakes.

The book contains about a dozen useful maps, a number of photographs of prominent persons in Oregon history, and nearly one hundred and fifty other illustrations, but in the latter there is a proneness to views of cities, city streets, and business blocks. The index, which occupies more than eighty pages; has been carefully and artistically prepared. It furnishes a real key to the volume.

F. W. HOWAY

*In a Fishing Country.* By W. H. BLAKE. Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada. 1922. Pp. 256.

MR. W. H. BLAKE, the translator of the widely-read story of outpost life in the province of Quebec, *Maria Chapdelaine*, gives us in this little volume much about history, geology, weather, fish, and, not least, the French Canadian. The scene is Murray Bay, most beautiful of haunts in summer, lying on the north shore of the St. Lawrence some eighty miles below Quebec. Here the Murray River, after a long and tortuous course through the gorges of the Laurentian range, empties into a broad bay, dry land at low tide, but so troubled by winds and currents when the tide is in that three centuries ago Champlain called it Malbaie.



The mountains of an indescribable blue, the great flood of the St. Lawrence, here nearly a score of miles wide, and a climate made cool by this icy tide, unite to make an attractive scene. To the regret of its older lovers Murray Bay has become almost fashionable. Mr. Blake dwells upon its history, from the earliest geological formation to the arrival of the golfer, and in this supplements Professor Wrong's *A Canadian Manor and its Seigneurs*, where the story of Murray Bay for a hundred years after 1763 is fully told. Mr. Blake urges a quite tolerable argument that within cannon shot of Murray Bay may have been that colony of Norsemen in about the year 1000 described in the story of Wineland the Good. It is all conjecture with a decent probability, and the style of telling is admirable. A series of earthquakes in 1663 endured for seven months. Mr. Blake quotes the Jesuit fathers as saying that at Three Rivers the white whales (*beluga*) cried in piteous tones from fear.

There is but one chapter dealing with history, "Old Murray Bay", one quarter of the book. We do not venture into the entrancing topic of fish and fishing, treated by an accurate observer ready to give hints as to equipment and methods. The vital helper in the sport is the French Canadian here seen as half farmer, half guide and trapper. There is an atmosphere in the province of Quebec. In other parts of Canada, the newcomer meets new conditions in new ways, while here a culture based on a long tradition survives, little changed during two or three centuries. The key to it all is the Church. The curé and the mass are always in the background. The fixity of type in the life makes it old amid much that is new. Mr. Blake's French Canadian is cheerful and willing to work, loyal to those whom he serves, expert in woodcraft, in some cases at least a little wistful about the mystery of life, but serene in his trust in the Church as guide into the undiscovered country. This is the author's estimate, influenced no doubt by the fact that alone of Canadian provinces Quebec has not adopted prohibition of the liquor traffic:

Quebec is the steady ballast of a Federation that carries a deal of top-hamper. A sane conservatism guards it from hysterias which run devastatingly through the other Provinces, and this conservatism has sound root in the heart of the countryman. Belief and practice are here in agreement that an enduring democracy, worthy the name, is only maintainable by jealously shielding every reasonable liberty of the individual; that the true measure of civic progress is the humblest citizen's sense of responsibility to the State, and the surest mark of retrogression the number and stringency of the legislative commandments imposed upon him. What corner of this unquiet earth offers in greater degree civilization's only three indispensable gifts—Justice, Security, Toleration" (p. 62).



*Autobiography of John Macoun, M.A., Canadian Explorer and Naturalist, Assistant Director and Naturalist to the Geological Survey of Canada, 1881-1920.* A Memorial Volume published by the Ottawa Field Naturalists' Club. 1922. Pp. x, 305.

PROFESSOR MACOUN was one of the greatest of Canadian botanists and explorers. He was a careful and voluminous note-taker, and had a surprising power of memory; and toward the end of a long life he dictated to a secretary the main portion of this autobiography. His own notes, as well as Principal Grant's interesting book, *Ocean to Ocean*, and other publications, are drawn upon; but much of the work has the air of personal recollections.

It is a book of great historical interest to Canadians, since it describes in a vivid way the heroic period of development of the young Dominion, when it was reaching out toward the far west and planning the great railways which should connect the Atlantic with the Pacific. Professor Macoun himself was a very important factor in the decisions as to routes to be followed by these railways, since he showed from the vegetation of the prairies that they were not an extension of "the great American Desert", as Palliser had reported to the imperial government not long before. He predicted, from its luxuriant plant growth, that what is now the province of Saskatchewan would prove to be a great wheat-producer, and he called attention to the fact that the summer isotherms run far to the north in the Peace River and Athabaska valleys, so that they too will ultimately be grain-growing regions. He was looked on by the eastern politicians as an enthusiast whose prophecies were too good to be true; but most of his conclusions have been justified.

As a writer Professor Macoun is most simple-hearted and naïve, in spite of being a great scientific man. His artless account of a rude boyhood in the north of Ireland, of a still rougher youth in the backwoods north of Belleville, and of his successes as a country school teacher, are charming in their simplicity and candour. Through all his hardships he scoured the country everywhere for plants, became a skilful systematic botanist, and at length was made professor in Albert College, Belleville. By good luck he became a member of Sir Sandford Fleming's party which was to determine a railway route through the mountains to British Columbia, and this launched him upon the prairies and through the Peace River pass. His joy over the prairie flowers is infectious; and his quotations from Principal Grant's *Ocean to Ocean*, the polished work of a classically trained scholar, make a most interesting contrast with his own racy narrative.

Professor Macoun believed in himself, yet he was greatly pleased to be recognized as a man of importance. Returning from his journey

across the continent he was asked to give lectures, and says "these lectures lifted me out of the rank of teacher and made me a public man". "I began to consider myself of more importance now than I had before and took my place in the city accordingly." He was greatly pleased that the members of the British Association, who met in Canada in 1884, recognized him as a botanist; and he greatly enjoyed his time in London when he was in charge of the Canadian natural history collection at the Crystal Palace and "wore a frock coat and tall hat". These simple vanities are the more engaging when one remembers that he was really a great man and a courageous pioneer in the opening up of half a continent.

Many of the homely expressions he uses in the book are typical of rural Ontario. He "hired a rig" to make a journey, and baked bannocks in a "spider", and paid Mr. Wood, later a well-known popular writer on birds, "a yolk shilling" for skinning and preparing specimens. He is uncompromising in characterizing the people he met. General Middleton, in the Riel rebellion, is "an old fool"; and he refers to Laurier's "lies about the transcontinental".

The book is of real historic value, and is of interest to the general reader also because of its racy account of conditions in the early struggling years of the Dominion, conditions that have passed for ever.

The autobiography was carried by Professor Macoun himself only to the year 1904. The events of the rest of his life, which ended in 1920, in his ninetieth year, are given briefly by his son, Dr. W. T. Macoun.

A. P. COLEMAN

*Report of the Canadian Arctic Expedition, 1913-18. Volume XII: The Life of the Copper Eskimos.* By D. JENNESS. Ottawa. 1922. Pp. 277.

IN 1913 the Canadian Arctic Expedition was organized by Dr. Vilhjalmur Stefansson, who commanded it and conducted explorations until 1918. A series of reports covering these operations has been prepared for early publication, among the current issues being this volume dealing with the Copper Eskimo, the subject matter of which is grouped under such headings as Trade, Dwellings, Food, Winter Life, Marriage, etc., and is supplemented by photographic illustrations. But fully to comprehend the present volume the reader should note that the expedition was sent out by the Department of Naval Service, whereas the scientific personnel was detailed from the Department of Mines. In consequence, the publications are to be divided between these two government departments, those dealing with marine problems as well as those devoted to the geography and history of the expedition falling to the Naval Service,

the remainder to the Department of Mines. The volume now before us was brought out under the former, and is, we presume, to be regarded as historical and geographical. At least, the fact that future volumes dealing with these Copper Eskimo, four in all, are to appear in the series assigned to the Department of Mines suggests that the volume now under review has a distinctive point of view. Anyway, the author states that this is "the only one that is likely to interest the general public". Further, the prefatory announcement of the publication committee implies that the point of view is narrative. We may, therefore, assume the volume to be a popular and relatively non-technical sketch of the author's itinerary and his personal reactions to the Copper Eskimos and their country. The projection of such an introductory volume is in keeping with the ideal set by Stefansson, the distinguished commander of the expedition, whose accounts of Arctic exploration are unusually appealing, because of their lucidity, directness, and subtle charm. Stefansson's method of narrating the facts and interpretations of Eskimo life may be characterized as the diary method *par excellence*, because the reader is permitted to look over the explorer's shoulder as he makes his entries, and thus feel the presence of the phenomena. Of course, all explorers make diary entries, but they rarely permit the reader to see what they actually wrote, giving him instead a carefully systematized, usually dry, abstract summary of what they think the concrete, living lines in their diaries signify. Turning now to *The Copper Eskimos* by Mr. Jenness, one readily notes that the author has made an effort to follow in the footsteps of his commander, but being something of an individualist himself and having been accustomed to de-humanizing his field data to conform to the traditions of his science, it is to be expected that the reader will find *The Copper Eskimos* a compromise, somewhat disappointing as a popular narrative, and on the other hand impressing the technical reader as a bit naïve, in regard, for example, to the very positive generalized statements concerning psychological and related forms of Eskimo behaviour. Nevertheless, the reader will find many pleasing bits of narrative, such as the theft and recovery of Uloksak's rifle (p. 231), the author as peacemaker between old Higilak and her husband (p. 162), etc. These, as well as many other passages, are vivid little pictures of Eskimo life. However, we are now to look at this volume as a technical contribution to the history of the Copper Eskimo, rather than as a popular narrative.

Arctic exploration at its best is precarious; at least, the loss of a vessel and part of its crew so disarranged the plans of the expedition that the author did not reach the Copper Eskimos until the autumn of 1914, and it was November 19 before he made his first contact with

these Eskimos, a contact which was maintained at intervals until July, 1916. This gave an actual working period, counting out time spent in headquarters, of little more than one year. He was then confronted with the extraordinary task of mastering the language, recording mythology, making observations upon the routine of daily life, etc., all within the limits of a single year. Anyone experienced with field-work of this kind knows how inadequate such a brief period is to the complete presentation of a tribal culture; but the author, like his commander, is a genius for gathering a large body of data in a short time. Unfortunately, the text is not clear as to just what portion of the Copper Eskimos he studied; obviously he did not visit all of them; but we assume that this will be fully developed in the next volume. However, without such an understanding the general reader will be at some loss to visualize the true situation in and about Coronation Gulf and to evaluate properly the statements made. Thus, if checking out of the author's itinerary shows that he saw but a part of the group, then the many general statements he makes must be taken with some reservation, because all phenomena of this kind are variable. Yet one method gives the reader confidence that a representative sample of Copper Eskimo life is given; *viz.*, when the author joined a small party on April 14 and followed them until November 8 of the same year. In this instance the reader is given an abbreviated diary from which a fairly satisfactory picture of summer life may be obtained; but one will experience regrets that this narrative is so condensed as to omit essential details and colour. One further regret is that this diary was not continued through the winter, thus completing the picture. However, if one masters the more formal sections of the volume, as those dealing with fishing, hunting, houses, etc., he can no doubt safely reconstruct the course of events in an average Eskimo year.

The habitat of the Copper Eskimos is in and around Coronation Gulf. These natives can and do cross over to Victoria Island and in summer range a few miles inland. Their country is the crossing place of the migrating caribou, and the Gulf is the home of seals. While birds, fish, and a few mammals are available in season, these are supplementary. As it is generally considered that Eskimo culture centres around the seal in winter and the caribou in summer, the setting in Coronation Gulf is ideal, or marks the place where the Eskimo culture may be seen in its purest form. It will be recalled that Steensby, the distinguished Danish anthropologist, regarded Coronation Gulf as the place where the environment was most in harmony with Eskimo culture, and therefore proposed this as the original homeland. Accordingly, he assumed that the Eskimos were once an inland people living upon the caribou, but eventually moved to the Gulf for winter sealing, and thus gradually

developed the alternating cycle of hunting and sealing which in the main characterizes Eskimo culture everywhere. Our author tends to accept Steensby's theory, for he claims that the Copper Eskimos are recent arrivals from the inland, and that there are abundant archaeological evidences that they were preceded by other tribes now lost to history. The evidence for these conclusions is, however, not presented in this volume.

Some of the typical Copper Eskimo traits are snowhouses, soapstone lamps and kettles, skin tents for summer, dog sledges, dog harness with separate traces for each dog, harpoons, compound bows, the caribou drive, the fish-jigging outfit, the kayak, the large tambourine-like drum, fur clothing, shamanism, exchange of wives, and taboos (especially those requiring the products of the inland and the sea to be kept apart). The list can be elaborated when the author publishes his full data, for the present volume emphasizes the social behaviour of the tribe rather than its technique. It is, however, just because all such typical traits as we have enumerated above seem to be at their best in and around Coronation Gulf that the study of these people is of so great importance. Their culture is also more primitive or archaic, no doubt because the isolation of their habitat has kept out extraneous influences such as we find in the Eskimo culture of Alaska, on the one hand, and Greenland, on the other. Thus it is that the Copper Eskimos become the key to the whole problem. Further, to evaluate properly the contributions of Stefansson and Jenness one should bear in mind that now since this isolation of the Copper Eskimos is broken and the elements of civilization placed in their hands, no one will ever again have a look in upon this culture in its primitive state; hence, these contributions will always stand as the primary source of data.

The value of such studies to the development of historical, sociological, and economic research in Canada should not be overlooked. It is coming to be more and more evident that when such research confines itself to modern nations and their immediate historical background, it thereby narrows its view and for want of perspective often fails to see the significance of its facts. If, on the other hand, attention is given to the history and economics of such groups as the Eskimos, who have developed in relative isolation, the phenomenon becomes more intelligible and new insights are realized. So it is that these studies of Stefansson and Jenness point the way to the richness of historical data in the Dominion, and the desirability of continued research while the opportunity is at hand.

Finally, then, the Canadian government is to be congratulated upon the results of its Arctic expedition, which was projected upon broad

scientific lines and carried through to a satisfactory conclusion, notwithstanding disasters and unfavourable conditions. Nor should the limitations to the present volume, which we have noted, in any way detract from the significance of the contribution of Mr. Jenness.

CLARK WISSLER

*The Northward Course of Empire.* By VILHJALMUR STEFANSSON. New York: Harcourt, Brace & Company. 1922. Pp. xx, 274; illustrations and a map. (\$2.00.)

THIS latest of Mr. Stefansson's books on the Arctic is an argument, based on his own experience and the experience of others in the far north, as to the adaptability of Alaska, Siberia, and particularly northern Canada, to permanent settlement. His thesis is a novel and interesting one, and his evidence, so far as one is able to judge it, is on the whole convincing.

Mr. Stefansson opens his argument with a well-directed attack on what he regards as the principal obstacle in the way of colonizing the north, that is to say, the age-long conviction that it is a barren, inhospitable, and incredibly cold region, fit for no one but the Eskimo. "If," he says, "the average American or European university graduate has ten ideas about the North, nine of them are wrong." This is driving right into the heart of the enemy's camp—not bad tactics, if you can follow up your attack, and Mr. Stefansson proceeds to do so.

First, as to temperature, he says, "the most fundamental wrong idea about the north is that the North Pole is the coldest place in the northern hemisphere, and that the polar regions are far colder in the coldest part of the winter than any countries that are now inhabited by the average civilized European or American." As to the North Pole, there are, as he says, three main factors that determine what the possible minimum temperature of any place may be—latitude, altitude, and distance from the ocean. The Pole has only the first. He admits that it is as yet impossible to say anything positive as to the temperature at the Pole, as no one has yet spent more than a very short period there, but judging by conditions elsewhere it is reasonable to assume that the Pole is not by any means the coldest spot in the northern hemisphere.

The author is on surer ground when he discusses the temperature of the northern coast of Canada and Alaska, as for more than twenty years in the case of Canada and forty in the case of the United States weather bureau observation stations have been maintained on the north coast of the continent. Both bureaus report the lowest recorded temperature as 54° F. below zero, for Hershel Island and Point Barrow. The U.S. Bureau at the same time reports a temperature of 68° below



zero for a small town in Montana. As to the average temperature in winter, it appears that on the Arctic coast it is higher than, and on the Arctic prairies inland about the same as, in such settled regions as Manitoba, Montana, and the Dakotas.

As to the idea that the summer temperatures in the far north are low, Mr. Stefansson shows that the very reverse is the case. The Weather Bureau records a temperature at Fort Yukon of  $100^{\circ}$  in the shade, and at Verkhoyansk in Siberia, a town seventy-five miles north of the Arctic circle, there is a recorded temperature of  $92.7^{\circ}$ . On the Coppermine River, Mr. Stefansson experienced for three weeks a temperature in the shade of about  $90^{\circ}$ .

As to the supposed barrenness of the far north, Mr. Stefansson bases his argument not merely on his own experience, but mainly on the report of the Canadian Royal Commission on *The Reindeer and Musk-ox Industries in the Arctic and Subarctic Regions of Canada*. The misnamed Barren Grounds of Northern Canada, he says, are in reality a vast pasture, one and a half to two million square miles of prairie land covered not with lichens and mosses but mainly with the same flowering plants with which we are familiar in more southern latitudes, sedges, blue-grass, timothy, goldenrod, dandelion, etc. Here there are grazing possibilities for millions of cattle. Mr. Stefansson, however, does not suggest that cattle or sheep should be raised on these northern prairies, but rather animals accustomed to the conditions, such as reindeer and the native musk-ox, or as he prefers to call it, the ovibos. He describes the meat of both as excellent, that of the latter as indistinguishable from beef. There is nothing about it to suggest in any way the idea of "musk", which is entirely a misnomer as applied to this animal. Mr. Stefansson looks forward to the time when the Arctic prairies of Canada will be the greatest meat-producing area of the world.

Unfortunately, space will not permit a more detailed discussion of the many points brought up in this very interesting and informative book, as to the fruitfulness and livability of the North, as to the prospects of oil, copper, and other great industries, the problem of transportation and particularly the possibilities of transpolar commerce by air and submarine. As Dr. Nelson, Chief of the U.S. Biological Survey, and one who has had personal experience of conditions in the far north, says, if Mr. Stefansson has done nothing more, he has at least established the fact that these "far northern lands are not the dread icy deserts of the popular belief, but are possessed of a variety of resources and are available for occupation by civilized man". Many of us will doubtless still prefer to remain where we are, but then many of us would hesitate to make our homes in some remote corner of Manitoba or Saskatchewan; and



Mr. Stefansson has certainly proved to any reasonable man that many Canadians have been entirely wrong in their view that the immense region north of the prairie provinces is to all intents uninhabitable and valueless. In doing that he has done a very real service to Canada.

LAWRENCE J. BURPEE

*Romantic Canada.* By VICTORIA HAYWARD. Illustrated with photographs by EDITH S. WATSON. With an introduction by E. J. O'BRIEN. Toronto: The Macmillan Company. 1922. Pp. xiii, 254.

AT first glance this volume appears to be a travel book of a type with which the reading public is now not unfamiliar. It is beautifully printed, with wide margins; it is discursive, but readable; and it is copiously illustrated with photographs. On closer inspection, however, the book will be found to be something more than a mere gift book for tourists; for the letterpress is based on close personal observation, and the illustrations are marked by a depth of interpretative insight and a perfection of technique which give them an exceptional value. "These pictures", as the author of the introduction justly observes, "with their fine sense of composition and warm human values, provide this [Canadian] literature with its just setting, and the social record they portray is of permanent significance. The quality of life changes even in a generation, and those who may turn over the leaves of this book a century from now will know as they would not otherwise have known what beautiful life has flourished in hidden places."

The greater part of the book is taken up with eastern Canada, the Maritime provinces, Labrador, the Magdalen Isles, and the province of Quebec. Ontario has perhaps less than justice done to its romantic possibilities; and the prairie provinces and British Columbia, while they receive a fuller treatment, might well have been "written up" more adequately. But of course the task of covering nine provinces, and holding the balances fairly among them, cannot have been easy, and one can only express one's gratitude to Miss Hayward and Miss Watson for giving us a very charming book, which is at the same time not without value as a contribution to the social history of Canada.

*British Colonial Policy in the Twentieth Century.* By H. E. EGERTON. London: Methuen & Co. 1922. Pp. ix, 259.

PROFESSOR EGERTON's first book, *A Short History of British Colonial Policy*, published in 1897, at once established his reputation. To later editions a chapter was added which brought the story up to the conclusion of the Boer War. His present work covers the past twenty years, and shows the same sanity, the same tempered and cautious

optimism, the same preference for facts and quotations over theories and epigrams, which marked his earlier work. Professor Egerton is essentially a scholar, yet sufficiently a man of the world not to depend wholly upon documents; modest and reticent, yet not without views of his own; a master of understatement, yet willing to offer criticisms which are the more telling because of their moderation. Thus he says, apropos of the attitude of Quebec during the recent war: "Some at least of the Roman Catholic clergy, in their distrust of an unbelieving French republic, may have shared the views and prejudices of the Vatican. Perhaps also the manner of approaching them employed by the British section of the people may not have been of a nature to win their sympathies" (p. 58). These two sentences should be treasured by every grammarian as singularly perfect examples of what may perhaps be described as the subjunctive of minimization. Similarly Mr. Meighen is put gently but firmly in his place with a criticism prefaced by "It is perhaps not uncharitable to suggest" (p. 158).

The one subject on which Professor Egerton abandons the attitude of Agag is in speaking of organized labour. Certain Australian leaders of this party are described (p. 70) in Tennyson's words as

Men loud against all forms of power—  
Unfurnished brows, tempestuous tongues—  
Expecting all things in an hour—  
Brass mouths and iron lungs!

He seems to consider that he has sufficiently proved that "from every point of view the weakest side of the Australian constitution was the character of the federal senate", when he has shown that "far from representing either State interests or sober second thoughts, it has been the special hunting ground of the doctrinaire socialist" (p. 33). When compelled to praise, he does it with a touch of well-bred surprise: "In its actual working all men were impressed by the good sense and moderation of the Labour party" (p. 39).

As between Dominions and Mother Country Professor Egerton's fairness is scrupulous. Next to Australian Labour his severest criticism is reserved for the imperial government, especially for its failure to keep the Dominions informed on questions of foreign policy. Speaking of the joint Anglo-French protectorate over the New Hebrides, he says: "The proposal was reasonable enough; but it seems strange that, while France was represented by men well versed in the subject, no attempt was made by the British Government to make use of the special knowledge possessed by Australian and New Zealand public men. . . . In this state of things it is not difficult to imagine the treatment accorded to

the convention and the home Government by Mr. Deakin in 1907. Mr. Deakin, in spite of his amiable qualities was not averse to wielding the rod. . . . Doubtless the incident was of use in serving to remind the Olympians of Downing Street that in dealing with Foreign Powers there were other interests to consider besides the European interests of Great Britain" (p. 113). Elsewhere he speaks of the "lamentable procrastination and secrecy" of the home government (p. 115), and of the "violation of the pledges given at the Imperial Conference of 1911" (p. 122).

His book really falls into two sections of unequal length. The first part (pp. 1-192) deals with the Dominions; the second (pp. 193-252) with the government of backward races. In this last part he discusses certain aspects of Africa and Malaya, their great material progress, their loyalty during the war, the tenderness of the British officials to native customs, especially concerning land. He gives high praise to British administration of the tropics; quotes United States authorities as proving the superiority of the West Indian negro to his American brother; and criticizes strongly the partial abolition of the indenture system. His method is generally, though not strictly, either chronological or geographical; but his own ideas and theories, always expressed tentatively and modestly, are so interesting that one ventures to hope that he may find time for a volume of essays on such special problems as "British land policy in the tropical dependencies", "The limitations of governments, autocratic and otherwise", "Bumptious colonials and complacent British bureaucrats".

Much of Professor Egerton's subject matter suffers from being at once too recent, and not recent enough. In a sense all history before 1914 is ancient history; across the great chasm of the war all former days seem dim and unreal. Yet the period between 1901 and 1914 is too near for us to treat it with that impersonal curiosity which we show toward Penn and Shaftesbury. We inevitably search the immediate past for guidance in the future, and become not historians but political scientists.

The book is dedicated to the memory of Sir George Parkin, and a re-reading of Sir George Parkin's monograph on *Imperial Federation*, published in 1892, shows how far we have travelled in the past thirty years. The paradox is that the present value of the writings of the nineteenth-century imperialists is minimized by the completeness of their success. Their problem was to bind the Empire together against Armageddon. Vimy Ridge and Gallipoli and the African campaigns of Smuts and Van Deventer tell that they solved it. "The necessity for common organization for purposes of defence . . . found a very tolerable practical solution in the experiences of the Great War," says Professor Egerton, with characteristic meiosis. It undoubtedly did, and one is glad to think

that such men as Sir George Parkin and Colonel George Denison saw in the flesh the result of their labours. There is at present no real problem of imperial defence; "ties of Common Funk" bind less closely, and observers as clear-sighted as Professor Egerton feel that "the very completeness of the Allies' triumph tends, with regard to the Dominions, to strengthen their centrifugal tendencies" (p. 171). That the war immeasurably strengthened colonial self-confidence, often called colonial nationalism, is undoubted. It is equally true that, as Professor Egerton says, "the problem how to secure for the British Empire a common foreign policy, without reducing the Dominions to the position of cyphers, has by no means yet found its solution" (p. 151). We must also admit that in the flush of victory the Dominions, by their separate signature of the peace treaty, took on themselves obligations of which few, if any, understood one-half the import. As Professor Egerton well says, at the conclusion of his chapter on foreign policy: "In spite of occasional mistakes, Great Britain had been upon the whole not an indifferent or careless trustee. . . . The most serious obligations confronting the new nations are those they entered upon with eyes open and with deliberate choice at the Peace Conference. The responsibilities incurred are much more onerous than any to which Great Britain would have dreamed of committing its daughter states" (p. 126).

In this regard he quotes largely from a very striking article in the *Quarterly Review*, Vol. 235, by Mr. Eggleston, an Australian publicist, in which the dilemma is clearly put of a nationality submerged in the British Commonwealth and yet asserted against the rest of the world. "The most conspicuous element in the whole episode," says Mr. Eggleston, "has been the appetite for privilege and status, on the one hand, and the blindness, on the other, to the obligations and responsibilities which that status implies." This is well said, and one wishes that Professor Egerton's treatment of the constitutional dilemma had been as exhaustive as it is suggestive, and that he had not chosen to go "very lightly over the ground that has been made his own by the highest living authority on the subject, Dr. A. B. Keith". In pondering these questions, one must supplement Professor Egerton not only by the learning of Dr. Keith, but also by the views of such representative Canadians as Mr. Rowell and Sir Robert Borden, expressed, not in the heat of debate, but in such considered utterances as *The British Empire and World Peace* and *Canadian Constitutional Studies*. Reading these, one feels rather less fearful than Professor Egerton, rather more certain that partnership, not separation, will be the outcome. After such a partnership Professor Egerton evidently yearns, but he fears that in time of peace there may not be enough interest in the Dominions to keep

it alive. Certainly the interest is not at present intense; Canada is for the nonce in the political doldrums. But after all we cannot always be at the height of an emotion, and why should we doubt that the emotion is there, even if dormant? It was not alone a mercenary army which "stood, and earth's foundations stay". Canadians and Australians are still the same as those who landed at Gallipoli and swept the ridge at Vimy. If only constitution-mongers will let us alone, and let ties of common sympathy develop suitable machinery for co-operation, our descendants will one day look on rejoicing while the last disciple of M. Bourassa is hanged in the entrails of the last disciple of Mr. Lionel Curtis. Partnership necessarily implies neither dependence nor independence, but inter-dependence. After all, we have already come some way along the line of co-operation, and we can easily go further. Professor Egerton suggests that the leader of the opposition, as well as the prime minister of each of the Dominions, be called to the quadrennial Imperial Conference. Why not? And why should not the ministry of External Affairs be separated in Canada from the prime ministership, as it has been in Great Britain, and why should not its holder take the place of the prime minister at this and other conferences? Two things at least are unthinkable, separation and dependence. There are too many nasty little self-centred nations in the world already; God forbid that Canada should add one to the number! Yet we cannot be satisfied with any truncated nationality. The solution of the dilemma is to take it by the horns, and to go on in co-operation.

W. L. GRANT

*Canada as a Political Entity.* By ALEXANDER O. POTTER. Syracuse: The Oberlander Press. 1922. Pp. viii, 159.

At a time when Canadians who show an interest in the matter differ almost vehemently over the political status of Canada, a treatise which sets out to examine the evidence and the conflicting opinion is of immediate interest. Dr. Potter has made a very complete survey of the field and in concise form endeavoured "to indicate as accurately as possible the status of Canada as a political entity".

Like Hobbes, he has found that definitions form a convenient and useful introduction to a dissertation in politics; and, beginning with entity, "because it was not desired to start from any controversial assumption," he examines the applicability to Canada of the terms colony, vassal state, state, nation, and dominion. With the Irish Agreement confirming the existence of Dominion status within the British Commonwealth at least, the problem becomes one of defining that status. In the process the Austinian conception of sovereignty is shelved.

Esmein's distinction between internal and external sovereignty and Dicey's between the legal and the actual or political sovereignty are accepted, and great reliance is placed on the restriction of legal power by constitutional right in British practice. These aids materially simplify the examination of internal government and relations both with Great Britain and with other countries, and almost forecast the conclusions, which are as follows: (1) that Canada possesses internal political sovereignty and, within the Empire, is virtually on a footing of equality with the United Kingdom; (2) that Canada, as a part of the British Empire, has been given an international status; (3) that, within the League of Nations, Canada is accepted as an equal by the members; and (4) that it has been recognized that Canada, as a political entity, has international obligations and rights. These are cautious and justifiable claims.

Throughout, the discussion is well documented, and the various aspects of each topic examined are indicated very adequately for so short an essay. Instances of this may be found in the comparison of the Laurier and the Borden interpretations of Canada's position following declaration of war by Great Britain, and in the account of Canada's share in the negotiation, signature, and ratification of the Versailles treaties.

The book is broken up into numbered subdivisions under descriptive headings, giving it the form of a manual. The bibliography and the abundant foot-note references make it a convenient book of reference on the subject. There is no index.

J. B. BREBNER

*The Principle of Official Independence: With particular reference to the political history of Canada.* By ROBERT MACGREGOR DAWSON. With an Introduction by GRAHAM WALLAS. London: P. S. King & Son. Toronto: S. B. Gundy. 1922. Pp. xv, 268.

THERE is great need of some good, up-to-date studies of Canadian government. In the United States, students of political science have produced, not only some admirable handbooks of American government as a whole, but also many thorough studies of minute phases of national and state government—such as books on the President's veto, or on the treaty-making powers of the Senate, or on the functions of the Supreme Court. But in Canada there is a striking scarcity of such books. There is in print no first-class account of the working of Canadian government under present conditions, nor are there more than one or two studies of special features of Canadian government.

Dr. Dawson's book is a very welcome contribution toward filling up this void. He approaches the study of Canadian government, it is



true, from a somewhat unusual angle. He attempts neither a survey of the whole field nor a formal study of any particular institutions. He aims rather at illustrating, by reference to particular institutions such as the judiciary, the civil service, and the parliamentary and royal commissions, the working of a principle to which little attention has hitherto been paid, the "principle of official independence". By this he means the device whereby certain questions or functions of government are, to use a popular expression, "taken out of politics"; and even careful students of Canadian government will be surprised to find how widely this principle has already been applied in Canada. Dr. Dawson discusses the conditions under which the principle should be applied, and he attempts to show why in some cases—such as those of the International Joint Commission, the Ottawa Improvement Commission, and the Montreal Harbour Commission—the application of the principle has been a success, or a partial success, whereas in other cases—such as those of the Board of Commerce and the Conservation Commission—it has been a failure. It will be seen that the book is not a treatise of the traditional sort, but that it breaks new ground.

The work had its origin as a thesis for the doctor's degree in the London School of Economics and Political Science. Professor Graham Wallas, under whose direction the work was done, contributes a brief introduction; and the opinion may be hazarded that never before has such a suggestive contribution to the study of Canadian government been packed into three short pages of print. It was to be expected that a work sponsored by so distinguished a thinker as Professor Wallas would reach a very high level of excellence and originality; and the expectation is not disappointed. Dr. Dawson has shown himself an apt pupil of a great master. He would appear to have neglected few, if any, of the important sources of information; he writes in a style that, on the whole, is admirably adapted to his purpose; and he brings to his task a clear and discerning eye.

It will not be expected, of course, that his conclusions will meet with universal assent. There will be those who see in his advocacy of the principle of official independence dangers greater than the advantages he urges, who believe that it is a mistake to try to temper democracy with absolutism. There will be those also who, while they are able to follow his general argument, will fail to agree with some of the rather dogmatic views which he holds regarding difficult and intricate administrative problems. One hesitates to believe, for example, that the re-classification of the Dominion civil service in 1919 can have been quite as stupid and unintelligent as he would have his readers believe. After all, was not the employment of the "business efficiency experts" who



carried out the re-classification merely another example of the application of the principle of official independence in Canadian government?

One could wish that, in some respects, Dr. Dawson had carried his investigations further. The nine permanent commissions whose work he examines are all creatures of the Dominion parliament. It might have been worth his while to make some researches into "commission government" in the provincial field. In some of the Canadian provinces a very extensive use has been made of late of this expedient. Particularly in regard to education, which comes under provincial jurisdiction, he would have found some notable illustrations of his thesis. In four or five provinces higher education has been placed in the hands of independent official bodies; and in Quebec the whole educational system has been "taken out of politics". Nor would a study of the functioning of the Ontario Hydro-Electric Power Commission have been found unprofitable.

But criticism of a book on the ground that it does not cover matters which it was not intended to cover is perhaps unfair. As it stands, Dr. Dawson's dissertation is a notable contribution to the study of Canadian government; and one can only wish that other phases of the subject had been subjected to the same keen and penetrating analysis.

W. S. WALLACE

## RECENT PUBLICATIONS RELATING TO CANADA

(Notice in this section does not preclude a more extended review later)

### I. THE RELATIONS OF CANADA WITH THE EMPIRE

BORDEN, Sir ROBERT L. *Political development and relations among the English-speaking peoples* (Dalhousie Review, January, 1923, pp. 399-409).

An address delivered by the ex-prime minister of Canada at the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, on October 6, 1922.

COTTRELL, I leut.-Col. R. F. "*Why we should concentrate on the Empire*" (Nineteenth Century and After, December, 1922, pp. 933-942).

A sequel to articles on the same subject by Lord Long of Wraxall and by Mr. W. A. S. Hewins, in the preceding numbers of the *Nineteenth Century*.

DARLING, J. F. *Currency co-operation in the Empire* (National Review, January, 1923, pp. 689-719).

A paper advocating the issue of "Empire Currency bills".

DENNIS, ALFRED L. P. *British foreign policy and the Dominions* (American Political Science Review, November, 1922, pp. 584-599).

A discussion of the problem of the international relations of the British overseas Dominions.

LEWIS, MALCOLM M. *The international status of the British self-governing Dominions* (British Year Book of International Law, 1922-1923, pp. 21-41).

A discussion of the implications in international law of the new status of the overseas Dominions of the British Empire.

LUGARD, Right Hon. Sir FREDERICK. *The growth of Empire* (United Empire, December, 1922, pp. 737-748).

A paper on recent developments in the British Empire, by the author of *The Dual Mandate in British Tropical Africa*.

KENNEDY, W. P. M. "*Canada's National Status*": *A last word* (North American Review, February, 1923, pp. 204-208).

A reply to an article by Mr. John S. Ewart, in the December, 1922, number of the *North American Review*.

KERR, PHILIP. *From Empire to Commonwealth* (Foreign Affairs, December, 1922, pp. 83-98).

A survey of recent developments in the British Empire, by the former editor of the *Round Table*.

TUPPER, Sir CHARLES HIBBERT. *Colonies and constitutional law* (Dalhousie Review, January, 1923, pp. 438-443).

A discussion of the legal aspects of Canada's colonial status.

### II. HISTORY OF CANADA

#### (1) General History

DEROMF, L. J. A. *Galerie canadienne de portraits historiques publiée avec des notes biographiques*. Montréal. 1921. Pp. 44. (\$5.00.)

A portrait gallery of distinguished French Canadians.

DOUGHTY, ARTHUR G. *Report of the Public Archives for the Year 1921*. Printed by order of parliament. Ottawa: The King's Printer. 1922. Pp. ii, viii, 206, 53, 77, 12, 49.

Reviewed on page 56.

EDWARDS, Major J. PLIMSOLL. *Sources of Canadian history, with special reference to Nova Scotia* (Collections of the Nova Scotia Historical Society, vol. xx, pp. 155-166).

A public address.

GILCHRIST, HYLEN IVES. *The history of Fort Ticonderoga* (Quarterly journal of the New York State Historical Association, July, 1922, pp. 147-154).

A paper read at the meeting of the New York State Historical Association at Lake George on October 5, 1921.

KENNEDY, W. P. M. *The constitution of Canada, an introduction to its development and law*. Toronto: Oxford University Press. 1922. Pp. xx, 519.

To be reviewed later.

LARSON, LAURENCE M. *Did John Scolvus visit Labrador and Newfoundland in or about 1476?* (Scandinavian Studies, vol. vii, No. 3, pp. 81-89).

A paper by a professor in the University of Illinois on the subject of one of the reputed pre-Columbian voyages to America.

ROY, PIERRE-GEORGES. *Les petites choses de notre histoire*. Troisième série. Lévis. 1922. Pp. 304. Quatrième série. Lévis. 1922. Pp. 304.

Reviewed on page 59.

## (2) New France

AUDET, FRANCIS-J. *Le Régiment de Carignan* (Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, 3rd series, vol. xvi, sect. i, pp. 129-141).

An addendum to the information contained in the eighth volume of M. Sulte's *Mélanges historiques*, dealing with the personnel of the Carignan regiment.

DAVID, Hon. L. O. *D'Iberville et la conquête de la Nouvelle-Angleterre* (Revue Canadienne, octobre 1922, pp. 491-496).

A brief account of the life of Lemoyne d'Iberville.

[DE MEULLES, l'Intendant.] *Lettre de l'intendant de Meulles au ministre (12 novembre, 1682)*. (Bulletin des recherches historiques, octobre, 1922, pp. 292-303.)

A document from the Public Archives of Canada which is a virtual report on the state of the colony of New France in 1682.

HASENCLEVER, ADOLF. *Zum ersten Kolonisationsversuch Frankreichs in Kanada (1540-1543)* (Weltwirtschaftliches Archiv, Band 18, Heft 3, Bl. 557-570).

Reviewed on page 58.

MALCHELOSSE, GÉRARD. *Ki8et et la Chaudière-Noire* (Revue Nationale, novembre, 1922, pp. 341-345).

Additional details about the life of an Algonquin chieftain who in 1697 vanquished an Iroquois chieftain named Black Kettle.

MASSICOTTE, E.-Z. *La foire des pelleteries à Montréal au xviii<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, décembre, 1922, pp. 373-380).

Some documents relating to the history of the fur-trade in the latter part of the seventeenth century in New France.

SCOTT, Abbé H. A. *Au berceau de notre histoire* (Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, 3rd series, vol. xvi, sect. i, pp. 39-74).

A review of the literature dealing with the early history of Canada, especially with reference to Cartier and Champlain.

SURREY, Mrs. N. M. MILLER. *The development of industries in Louisiana during the French régime, 1673-1763* (Mississippi Valley Historical Review, December, 1922, pp. 227-235).

A paper describing the development of agriculture in the Mississippi valley during the French period.

[VAUDREUIL, Marquis de.] *Lettre du Gouverneur de Vaudreuil au ministre (12 septembre, 1757)*. (Bulletin des recherches historiques, novembre, 1922, pp. 321-324.)

A letter dealing with the attempt of Vaudreuil to detach Irish prisoners from their allegiance to England during the Seven Years' War.

### (3) British North America before 1867

AUDET, F. J. *Histoire de quatre ans* (Revue Nationale, novembre, 1922, pp. 325-330).

A sketch of the history of the period of military rule in Canada, 1760-1764.

LIGHTHALL, W. D. *Lieutenant-General Garret Fisher: A forgotten Loyalist* (Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, 3rd series, vol. xvi, sect. ii, pp. 65-72).

A biographical sketch of a distinguished Loyalist soldier, by one of his collateral descendants.

MAVOR, JAMES. *A chapter of Canadian economic history, 1791 to 1839* (Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, 3rd series, vol. xvi, sect. ii, pp. 19-33).

Some notes on economic history in Canada before the rebellion of 1837, with especial reference to the economic factors that contributed to the rebellion.

WILLIAMS, GEORGE E. *The passing of the "Caroline"* (Canadian Magazine, November, 1922, pp. 87-88).

An account of the cutting-out of the *Caroline* at Navy Island in 1838, based on family tradition.

### (4) The Dominion of Canada

BRAITHWAITE, E. E. *Canada and the Orient* (Canadian Magazine, November, 1922, pp. 12-16).

A brief discussion of Canada's relations with China and Japan.

DAFOE, J. W. *Laurier: A study in Canadian politics*. Toronto: Thomas Allen. [1922.] Pp. 182. (\$1.25.)

To be reviewed later.

DAWSON, R. MACGREGOR. *The principle of official independence, with particular reference to the political history of Canada*. With an introduction by GRAHAM WALLAS. London: P. S. King & Son. Toronto: S. B. Gundy. 1922. Pp. xv, 268.

Reviewed on page 81.

GOOD, W. C. *The Farmer's movement in Canada* (Dalhousie Review, January, 1923, pp. 476-484).

An attempt to interpret the aims and ideals of the Farmers' party.

GREENE, B. M. *"Who's who in Canada", 1922*. Toronto: International Press Limited. [1922.] Pp. lxvi, 1598. (\$10.)

The sixteenth year of issue of this illustrated Canadian biographical dictionary.

IRVINE, WILLIAM. *The Farmers in politics*. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart. [1921.] Pp. 253.

A history of the Farmers' movement, with a discussion of the principles and ideals underlying the movement.

KENNEDY, EDWARD. *The drift to the south* (Canadian Magazine, February, 1923, pp. 277-286).

A discussion of the exodus from Canada to the United States.

LANDON, FRED. *The Dominion parliament, Act I, Scene I* (Canadian Magazine, February, 1923, pp. 287-292).

An account of the first session of the first parliament of the Dominion of Canada.

MARTIN, CHESTER. *The colonial policy of the Dominion* (Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, 3rd series, vol. xvi, sect. ii, pp. 35-47).

A discussion of the policy adopted by the Dominion government toward the North-west Territories and the provinces carved out of them.

McGILlicuddy, OWEN E. *The making of a premier: An outline of the life story of the Right Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, C.M.G.* With a preface by JOHN LEWIS. Toronto: The Musson Book Company. [1922.] Pp. 91. (\$1.25.)

To be reviewed later.

POTTER, ALEXANDER O. *Canada as a political entity.* Syracuse: Oberlander Press. 1922. Pp. viii, 159.

Reviewed on page 80.

S[UTHERLAND], J. C. *Sir William Logan* (Educational Record of the Province of Quebec, vol. xlii, nos. 10-12, pp. 294-307).

A biographical sketch of the founder of the Geological Survey of Canada.

WEBSTER, J. CLARENCE. *Present-day aspects of Canadian nationalism.* [Shediac, N.B., 1922.] Pp. 19.

An address delivered at Mount Allison University, New Brunswick, on November 15, 1922, discussing the means whereby Canadian national feeling may be strengthened.

### III. PROVINCIAL AND LOCAL HISTORY

#### (1) The Maritime Provinces

ARCHIBALD, SIR ADAMS. *Life of Sir John Wentworth, governor of Nova Scotia, 1792-1808* (Collections of the Nova Scotia Historical Society, vol. xx, pp. 43-109).

A paper read originally before the Nova Scotia Historical Society in 1883.

LONGWORTH, ISRAEL. *Hon. Simon Bradstreet Robie, a biography* (Collections of the Nova Scotia Historical Society, vol. xx, pp. 1-16)

A biographical sketch of a Nova Scotia judge of the first half of the nineteenth century.

MULLANE, GEORGE. *The privateers of Nova Scotia, 1756-1783* (Collections of the Nova Scotia Historical Society, vol. xx, pp. 17-42).

A valuable chapter of the maritime history of Nova Scotia.

TOWNSHEND, SIR CHARLES J. *The Honourable James McDonald* (Collections of the Nova Scotia Historical Society, vol. xx, pp. 139-153).

An account of the life of a chief justice of the Supreme Court of Nova Scotia.

#### (2) The Province of Quebec

DESILETS, ALFRED. *Souvenirs d'un octogénaire.* Les Trois-Rivières: P. R. Dupont, Imprimeur. 1922. Pp. 159.

Notes prepared shortly before his death by an aged French-Canadian lawyer, dealing mainly with the history of his family and of the parish in which he had lived, the parish of St.-Grégoire.

DESROSIERS, LEO-PAUL. *Ames et paysages.* Montréal: Editions du Devoir. 1922. Pp. 183. (75c.)

Sketches of French-Canadian life.

GRIGNON, JOSEPH-J. *Le vieux temps.* Saint-Jérôme: Librairie Prévost. 1921. Pp. 80. (50c.)

Notes on the local history of the parish of St.-Jérôme.

LAVOIE, JOSEPH-A. *La famille Lavoie au Canada de 1650 à 1921.* Preface de l'Hon.

THOMAS CHAPAIS. Québec. 1922. Pp. xiii, 403. (\$2.75.)

An elaborate genealogical study of the author's family.

MASSÉ, OSCAR. *Mena'sen: Le Rocher au Pin Soletaire (Légende Sherbrookoise)*. Québec: Typographie Dussault et Proulx. 1922. Pp. 123. (75c.)

An elaboration of a French-Canadian legend dealing with events of the beginning of the eighteenth century.

MASSICOTTE, E.-Z. *Faits curieux de l'histoire de Montréal*. Avec un préface et un index par CASIMIR HÉBERT. Montréal: Librairie Beauchemin. 1922. Pp. 224.

A collection of papers by M. Massicotte dealing with the history of Montreal, reprinted from various sources.

— *La guignolée—Le jour de l'an—La bénédiction paternelles—Les visites—Les chansons—Anecdotes* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, décembre, 1922, pp. 364-372).

Notes on French-Canadian social history.

— *La vie des chantiers* (Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, 3rd series, vol. xvi, sect. i, pp. 17-37).

An account of the life in the lumber-camps of the Ottawa valley during the last century.

MICHAUD, Abbé Jos. D. *Notes historiques sur la vallée de la Matapédia*. Val-Brillant, Que.: "La Voix du Lac." 1922. Pp. 241. (\$1.00.)

An admirable account of the local history of the valley of the Matapédia, in the Gaspé peninsula.

[ROV, P.-G.] *Rapport de l'archiviste de la province de Québec pour 1921-1922*. [Québec:] Ls.-A. Proulx, Imprimeur de Sa Majesté le Roi. 1922. Pp. xi, 452.

To be reviewed later.

TREMBLAY, Abbé GEO. *Monographie de Tadoussac, 1535 à 1922*. Chicoutimi: Typ. le Syndicat des Imprimeurs du Saguenay. [1922.] Pp. 65.

A brief sketch of the history of Tadoussac.

VAUDRY, M. O. *A sketch of the life of Captain John Savage, J.P., first settler in Shefford county, 1792; also the early history of St. John's Church, West Shefford, Que., 1821-1921*. Lennoxville, Que. [1922.] Pp. 20.

Part of a paper prepared for the meeting of the United Empire Loyalists' Association at Toronto in March, 1921.

### (3) The Province of Ontario

CREED, CATHERINE. "Whose debitors we are." (Niagara Historical Society, No. 34.) Niagara: Niagara Historical Society. 1922. Pp. vii, 116; illustrations. (50c.)

A memorial volume containing short biographical sketches of the men and women of Niagara, Ontario, who served in the Great War.

HALLAM, Mrs. W. T. *Notes on the life of Canon Featherstone Lake Osler, and his wife, Ellen Free Pickton* (The Women's Canadian Historical Society of Toronto: Transaction No. 21, 1920-1921, pp. 26-33).

A paper based on some records of the Osler family recently printed for private circulation.

NEELANDS, Mrs. E. V. *Old Toronto streets and landmarks* (The Women's Canadian Historical Society of Toronto: Transaction No 21, 1920-1921, pp. 12-26).

A paper based mainly on printed sources, but in part also on family records.

[NEIL, Rev. JOHN.] *Mono.* [Toronto. 1922.] Pp. 8.

A pamphlet describing early days in a township in western Ontario.

RIDDELL, Hon. W. R. *Upper Canada a century ago* (Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, 3rd series, vol. xvi, sect. ii, pp. 1-18).

A rather discursive paper on the early history of Upper Canada, containing, however, the results of a good deal of research.

**(4) The Western Provinces**

HOWAY, Judge F. W. *The raison d'être of Forts Yale and Hope* (Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, 3rd series, vol. xvi, sect. ii, pp. 49-64).

The story of two Hudson's Bay Company posts in British Columbia.

LOFTHOUSE, Right Rev. J., D.D. *A thousand miles from a post-office; or, Twenty years' life and travel in the Hudson's Bay regions*. With a preface by the Archbishop of Canterbury. Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada. 1922. Pp. vii, 184; illustrations.

To be reviewed later.

MACKAY, ISABEL ECCLESTONE. *The David Thompson Memorial* (Canadian Magazine, January, 1923, pp. 223-229).

A brief account of David Thompson's life, illustrated with photographs of the David Thompson pageant at Lake Windermere, British Columbia, in September, 1922.

PRUD'HOMME, Hon. L.-A. M. *Louis-Raymond Giroux (1841-1911)* (Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, 3rd series, vol. xvi, sect. i, pp. 1-16).

A biographical sketch of a Roman Catholic missionary in the West.

**IV. GEOGRAPHY, ECONOMICS, AND STATISTICS**

[ASSOCIATION CATHOLIQUE DE LA JEUNESSE CANADIENNE-FRANÇAIS.] *Le problème industriel au Canada français: Rapport officiel du Congrès tenu par l'A.C.J.C. à Québec, les 1er, 2 et 3 juillet, 1921*. Montréal: Secrétariat-Général de l'A.C.J.C. 1922. Pp. 308.

To be reviewed later.

[CANADA: DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR.] *Seventeenth report of the Geographic Board of Canada, containing all decisions from April 1, 1919, to March 31, 1921*. Printed by order of parliament. Ottawa: The King's Printer. 1922. Pp. 74.

This report contains, in addition to the usual decisions, etc., papers on "The Meaning of Canadian City Names" and "Place-names on Magdalen Islands, Que." by R. Douglas, and one on "Place-names on Anticosti Island, Que." by Lieut.-Col. W. P. Anderson. These papers are published also as separate off-prints.

CANADA: DOMINION BUREAU OF STATISTICS. *The Canada Year Book, 1921*. Ottawa: The King's Printer. 1922. Pp. xxiii, 909.

Contains, in addition to the usual features, special articles on "The Constitution and Government of Canada" and "Provincial and Local Government in Canada". To be reviewed later.

DESBRAS [J.] *Les irlandais dans Sainte-Anne-du-Sud* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, octobre, 1922, pp. 289-291).

A note on Irish immigration into Canada a century ago.

FLEMMING, HORACE A. *Halifax currency* (Collections of the Nova Scotia Historical Society, vol. xx, pp. 111-137).

A useful account of early money and currency in British North America.

HAYWARD, VICTORIA. *Romantic Canada*. Illustrated with photographs by EDITH S. WATSON; with an introduction by EDWARD J. O'BRIEN. Toronto: The Macmillan Company. 1922. Pp. xiii, 254.

Reviewed on page 76.

LEFÈVRE, OLIVIER. *La canalisation du Saint-Laurent* (L'Action française, novembre, 1922, pp. 291-297).

A discussion of the St. Lawrence waterway project from a hostile, French-Canadian point of view.



MICKLE, SARA. *An old account, 1785-1788* (The Women's Canadian Historical Society of Toronto: Transaction No. 21, 1920-1921, pp. 33-40).

A paper giving extracts from an account between Street and Butler, merchants at Niagara, and Lieut. Adam Kryslor of Butler's Rangers, between 1785 and 1788.

MINTY, L. LE M. *The Ontario savings bank and farm loan scheme* (Economica, October, 1922, pp. 246-255).

An impartial account of the recent entrance of the government of Ontario into the field of banking.

SCANLON, D. D. *Early history of the Home Bank of Canada* (Home Bank Monthly, January, 1923, pp. 14-16).

A brief sketch of the history of the Toronto Savings Bank, which was the predecessor of the Home Bank of Canada of to-day.

[SKELTON, O. D.] *The Dominion Bank, 1871-1921: Fifty years of banking service*. Toronto: The Dominion Bank. [1922.] Pp. 227; illustrations.

To be reviewed later.

STEFANSSON, VILHJALMUR. *The Arctic as an air route of the future* (National Geographic Magazine, August, 1922, pp. 205-218).

A discussion of the possibilities of aerial transportation in the Arctic regions of Canada.

——— *The northward course of Empire*. With an introduction by Dr. EDWARD WILLIAM NELSON. New York: Harcourt, Brace, and Company. [1922.] Pp. xx, 274; illustrations and a map. (\$2.00.)

Reviewed on page 74.

STEVENSON, EDWARD L. *A description of early maps, originals and facsimiles (1452-1611), being a part of the permanent wall exhibition of the American Geographical Society, with a partial list and brief references to the reproductions of others which may be consulted in the Society's library*. New York: The American Geographical Society. 1921. Pp. 20.

An admirable introduction to the study of early American cartography.

## V. EDUCATIONAL AND RELIGIOUS HISTORY

HUGHES, JAMES L. *The teaching of English in the English-French schools of Ottawa: Report of inspection*. Published by the Unity League of Ontario. [1923.] Pp. 5.

An important contribution to the bilingual school controversy by a former Grand Master of the Orange Order in Ontario.

MAHEUX, Abbé ARTHUR. *Un problème de linguistique: les parlers manceaux et le parler franco-canadien* (Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, 3rd series, vol. xvi, sect. i, pp. 75-90).

A discussion of the origins of the linguistic peculiarities of French-Canadian speech.

MASSICOTTE, E.-Z. *Les marionnettes au Canada* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, novembre, 1922, pp. 337-341).

A supplement to an article published by the author in the *Bulletin* for January, 1922.

MURRAY, WALTER C. *College union in the maritime provinces* (Dalhousie Review, January, 1923, pp. 410-424).

A discussion of the problem of higher education in the maritime provinces.

——— *University development in Canada* (Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, 3rd series, vol. xvi, sect. ii, pp. 77-105).

A sketch of the history of university education in Canada.

NOLIN, Dr. JOSEPH. *Conférence interuniversitaire de Winnipeg* (Revue Canadienne, novembre, 1922, pp. 561-570).

An account of the conference of Canadian universities held at Winnipeg in June, 1922, by the only French-Canadian representative from the province of Quebec.

RICHARDSON, WILLIAM LEEDS. *The administration of schools in the cities of the Dominion of Canada*. Toronto: J. M. Dent & Sons. 1922. Pp. xviii, 315.

A dissertation submitted in candidacy for the degree of doctor of philosophy.

SAVAÈTE, ARTHUR. *Voix canadiennes: Vers l'abîme*. Tome IX: *Mgr Ignace Bourget, 2<sup>ème</sup> évêque de Montréal, sa vie, ses contrariétés, ses œuvres*. Paris: Librairie Générale Catholique. [n.d.] Pp. 462.

A biography of the Roman Catholic bishop of Montreal who strove to suppress the Institut Canadien, in which there is a bare allusion to the Institut, and no reference whatever to the celebrated Guibord case or other important episodes in the struggle between Church and State in the province of Quebec after Confederation.

——— *Voix canadiennes: Vers l'abîme*. Tome X: *Vie de Mgr L.-F. Laflèche, ses contrariétés et ses œuvres*. Paris: Librairie Générale Catholique. [n.d.] Pp. 624.

The biography of a Roman Catholic bishop of Three Rivers, in which are contained some interesting chapters on the history of the Roman Catholic Church in the Canadian West.

——— (ed.) *Œuvres oratoires de Mgr Louis-François Laflèche, évêque des Trois-Rivières*. Paris: Arthur Savaète, éditeur. [n.d.] Pp. 440.

A collection of the speeches and addresses of Bishop Laflèche of Three Rivers, dealing chiefly with religious matters.

STANLEY, CARLETON W. *Spiritual conditions in Canada* (Hibbert Journal, January, 1923, pp. 276-286).

A very pessimistic survey of tendencies in Canadian life and society.

## VI. ARCHAEOLOGY AND ETHNOLOGY

(Contributed by D. Jenness)

*American Indian Life. By Several of its Students*. Edited by ELSIE CLEWS PARSONS, illustrated by C. GRANT LA FARGE. New York: B. W. Huebsch. 1922. Pp. 419. (\$10.00.)

This very attractive volume aims at furnishing the general reader who knows little or nothing of current anthropological literature with clear cameo-like pictures of Indian life in North America before it broke down under the influence of European civilization. Twenty-seven different tribes are described, each by a specialist; and the aim has been to bring out the salient features in the culture of each tribe by grouping them around the activities of some individual member, who may or may not have been a strictly historical character. The narratives are necessarily very brief, but in nearly every case the writers have succeeded in injecting into their accounts something of the fascination of the modern short story without any loss of scientific accuracy. This is the book's chief merit, and makes it the best introduction to the study of North American ethnology. Six of the twenty-seven tribes described have their homes within the boundaries of the Dominion.

BAYLISS, CLARA K. *A Treasury of Eskimo Tales*. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company. 1922. Pp. 135.

A small collection of folk-tales from the Eskimos of Baffin Island and of

Bering Strait, Alaska, taken from the sixth and eighteenth *Annual Reports of the Bureau of American Ethnology*. The book, like the similar collections of Indian tales by the same writer, is intended for children, but it shows so little acquaintance with the real character of Eskimo life that the stories have lost all their atmosphere and convey very little meaning.

BENEDICT, RUTH FULTON. *The Vision in Plains Culture* (*American Anthropologist*, Vol. 24, No. 1, January-March, 1922, pp. 1-23).

A discussion of the most fundamental feature in the religious life of the Plains Indians, leading up to the rather negative conclusion that the many heterogeneous forms under which this phenomenon appears cannot be united under any general categories.

BOAS, FRANZ. *Ethnology of the Kwakiutl*. Thirty-Fifth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, 1913-1914, Part 2. Washington, 1921. Pp. 795-1481.

This is a continuation of Dr. Boas's first paper, published earlier in 1921, which dealt mainly with the economic life of the Kwakiutl Indians of Vancouver Island, B.C. His second paper takes up their social organization and the traditional histories of different families, concluding with an Eskimo-Kwakiutl and Kwakiutl-English vocabulary. Both papers are direct translations of MSS. written by a Kwakiutl Indian in his own dialect, and in consequence the form under which they are presented will repel all but the specialist in this field of work. The discussion of this vast mass of material, which Dr. Boas promises for a future occasion, will be awaited with much interest.

CARMICHAEL, ALFRED. *Indian Legends of Vancouver Island*. Toronto. 1922.

Reviewed previously.

EKBLAW, W. E. *Ecological Relations of the Polar Eskimo* (*Ecology*, Vol. II, No. 2, April, 1921, pp. 132-144).

The writer discusses the extraordinary directness of the relation that existed between the Eskimos of Smith Sound and their geographic and economic environment; he concludes by expressing doubt as to whether these Eskimos can survive the radical changes brought about by recent contact with civilization.

FARABEE, WILLIAM CURTIS. *Dress among Plains Indian Women* (*Museum Journal*, Pennsylvania, Vol. 12, No. 4, December, 1921, pp. 239-251).

A brief and not too technical article, with a few excellent illustrations.

FLAHERTY, ROBERT J. *How I filmed Nanook of the North* (*The World's Work*, September, 1922, pp. 553-560).

——— *Life among the Eskimos* (*The World's Work*, October, 1922, pp. 632-640).

——— *Indomitable Children of the North* (*Travel Magazine*, Vol. 39, August, 1922, pp. 16-20).

Short popular accounts of the Eskimos on the east coast of Hudson Bay.

GARBORG, HULDA. *The Iroquois Book of Rites* (*Edda*, *Nordisk Tidskrift for Litteraturforskning*, Aargang 8, Bind XVI, Hefte 4, 1921, pp. 288-309).

Article in Norwegian.

GATHORNE-HARDY, G. M. *A Recent Journey to Northern Labrador* (*Geographical Journal*, Vol. LIX, No. 3, March, 1922, pp. 153-168).

Reviewed previously.

GOLDENWEISER, A. A. *Early Civilization*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1922. Pp. 428.

An introduction to sociology, dealing with the early stages in the development of industrial, social, and religious life. Five different peoples, representing five different types of primitive civilization, are briefly passed in review. Using these as a basis for discussion, the author proceeds to analyse the principal forces at

work in primitive society. He discusses the extent to which man is influenced by his environment, the basal factors in religion, the foundations of social organization, and the mentality of early man. There is a little unevenness in the treatment of these different topics, the author evidently feeling more at home when dealing with religion and with the varieties of social organization than with the details of material culture. The plan of the book too is not altogether harmonious, the first part being in the nature of an introductory text-book, while the last develops into a review of some advanced psychological theories. But these defects are more than compensated for by the stimulating character of the discussion and by the new view-points which the author frequently presents on old and well-worn problems. The book should prove of particular interest to Canadians because three of the five typical civilizations that are described are drawn from Canada.

GRANT, J. C. BOILEAU. *Some Notes on an Eskimo Skeleton* (American Journal of Physical Anthropology, Vol. 5, No. 3, July-September, 1922, pp. 267-271).

A description of an incomplete skeleton, probably Eskimo, from the west coast of Hudson Bay.

HOESSLY, H. *Kraniologische Studien an einer Schädelserie aus Ostgrönland. Ergebnisse der Schweizerischen Grönland Expedition 1912-1913.* (Neue Denkschriften der Schweizerischen Naturforschenden Gesellschaft, Vol. LIII, 1916.)

An anatomical report on a collection of East Greenland skulls. The author concludes that the Eskimo is the oldest and most primitive type of the Mongolian race and that the East Greenland natives migrated there from Alaska around the north coast of Greenland.

JENNESS, D. *The Life of the Copper Eskimos.* Report of the Canadian Arctic Expedition, 1913-1918, Vol. XII, Ottawa, 1922. Pp. 277.

Reviewed on page 70.

——— *The "Blond" Eskimos* (American Anthropologist, Vol. 23, No. 3, July-September, 1921, pp. 257-267).

The paper seeks to prove that the theory of "Blond" Eskimos of part-Scandinavian ancestry is based on misinterpreted data and has no foundation in fact.

——— *Eskimo Art* (Geographical Review, Vol. XII, April, 1922, No. 2, pp. 161-174).

Illustrates the development of Eskimo technique in pencil drawing under the influence of European culture.

——— *Eskimo Music in Northern Alaska* (Musical Quarterly, Vol. VIII, No. 3, July, 1922, pp. 377-383).

A discussion of the folk-music of the North Alaskan Eskimos.

LEECHMAN, J. D., and HARRINGTON, M. R. *String Records of the Northwest.* Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, New York, 1921. Pp. 64.

Descriptions of the knotted strings used as bibliographical records by the Salish tribes of British Columbia.

MACCURDY, GEORGE GRANT. *An Example of Eskimo Art* (American Anthropologist, Vol. 23, No. 3, July-September, 1921, pp. 384-385).

A description of a finely-carved ivory whip-handle from Alaska.

MACMILLAN, CYRUS. *Canadian Fairy Tales.* Toronto: S. B. Gundy. 1922. Pp. XIV, 203.

Like the author's earlier work, "Canadian Wonder Tales", this book pertains rather to literature than to science. The crude Indian (and French-Canadian) legends are so disguised by the author's imaginative treatment that they can hardly lay claim to any ethnological value. As a story book for Canadian children, however, the volume deserves a high place.

MORICE, A. G. *Smoking and Tobacco among the Northern Dénés* (American Anthropologist, Vol. 23, No. 4, October-December, 1921, pp. 482-488).

The paper gives strong grounds for believing that the use of tobacco was unknown to the northern tribes of Canada before the advent of the whites.

MUNN, HENRY TOKE. *Life among the Eskimos* (Windsor Magazine, March, 1922, pp. 388-396).

——— *The Economic Life of the Baffin Island Eskimo* (Geographical Journal, Vol. LIX, No. 4, April, 1922, pp. 269-272).

——— *The Great Herd* (Chambers Journal, June 1, 1922, pp. 391-395).

Descriptive scenes of life among the Baffin Island Eskimos.

RITCHIE, JOHN. *Note on Carving on a North-West American Birch Bark Canoe* (Man, May, 1922, pp. 76-78).

A description of a carving made on a birch tree before the bark was removed for the canoe. The carving is probably of European origin, not Indian, as the author assumes.

SAPIR, E. *Vancouver Island Indians* (Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics, edited by James Hastings, Vol. XII, 1922, pp. 591-595).

An account of the religious beliefs of the Nootka Indians of Vancouver Island.

SHAW, B. H. H. *Indians of the Maritimes* (Canadian Magazine, No. 58, February, 1922, pp. 34-50).

A character sketch of the Micmac Indians, with some naïve remarks on the language.

SKINNER, ALANSON. *Material Culture of the Menomini*. New York: Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation. 1921. Pp. 478.

The Menomini are an Algonkian tribe living south of the Great Lakes, but their culture is closely akin to that of the Ojibwa in Canada, and the writer points out the resemblances between the two tribes both in material culture and in social life.

SPECK, FRANK G. *Beothuk and Micmac*. New York: Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation. 1922. Pp. 187.

There are two papers in this volume. In the first the author attempts to establish the Algonkian affinity of the Beothuks of Newfoundland by bringing forward some new evidence obtained from the neighbouring Micmac Indians. The second paper outlines the hereditary hunting territories of the different Micmac families.

THALBITZER, W. *The Aleutian Language compared with Greenlandic* (Journal of American Linguistics, Vol. 2, Nos. 1-2, January, 1921, pp. 40-57).

The author supports the theory that the Eskimo and Aleutian languages belong to the same stock.

TEIT, JAMES. *Tahltan Tales* (Journal of American Folk-Lore, Vol. 34, No. 133, July-September, 1921, pp. 223-253).

A continuation of a paper the first part of which was published in the same journal, April-June, 1919.

WALLIS, WILSON D. *Medicines used by the Micmac Indians* (American Anthropologist, Vol. 24, No. 1, January-March, 1922, pp. 24-30).

A list of various diseases and the remedies, mainly herbal, employed in their treatment. Nearly all the remedies seem to have been extremely crude, and some positively harmful.

